Annals and Antiquities of the Temple of Jagannātha



About the Work

The Temple of Jagannātha occupies a unique place in our rich but divergent culture. It is a wonder that it has withstood the vicissitudes of time for several centuries with incredible resoluteness. True to its title, this book deals with the antiquities as well as other pertinent issues. Readers interested to know about the past history of this shrine will not be disappointed e.g., as regards the different *sevā*, it mentions the ones prevalent during the rule of *Gajapati* Anaṅgabhīma Dev II in the 13th century. It may be reiterated that there is a virtual continuity in the observance of the rituals and festivities in this great shrine of Viṣṇu as evidenced from the narrations of Abul Fāzl (*Āin-i-Ākbarī*,1580 A.D) that " The three images (Jagannātha triad) are washed six times every day and freshly clothed .... and each time large dishes of food are brought out for the the images so that twenty thousand people partake the *prasād*." Religion and statecraft have existed in close proximity elsewhere and Orissa is no exception. During the reign-period of different dynasties, Jagannātha Has played a significant role. The waxing and waning of their influence were determined by their attitude towards the shrine. The readers are reminded that this book was written seventy-six years ago and it is being published for the first time. The author has all along been balanced in his description of the various aspects of the shrine. He has solicited the readers to point out the inherent

(see back cover)

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Narayan Miśra

Edited
by
Durga Nandan Mishra



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Replicas of Baḷabhadra, Subhadrā, Jagannātha, and Śudarśana(from left to right)

Caḷanti pratimās of Madanamohana, Śrīdevī, and Bhūdevī in the *Maṇivimāna*
The Jagannātha triad on the *Snānavedī* (bathing platform) on the occasion of *Snāna pūrṇimā* (*Jyeṣṭha*, May/June)

The Jagannātha triad on the *Snānavedī* (bathing platform) on the occasion of *Snāna pūrṇimā* (*Jyeṣṭha*, May/June)



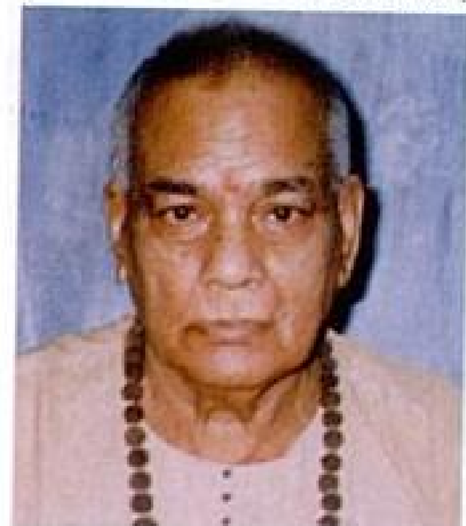
Durgābatī Devī, author's wife
(1880 - 2.7. 1964)



Gourīmaṇi Devī, daughter
(26. 9. 1903 - 13. 1. 1978)



Govinda Chandra Miśra, son-in-law
(2.7.1889 - 17.9. 1974)



Sadāśiv Mishra Brahmā Jyotirvid,
grandson, (22. 6. 1925 - 26. 12. 2004)

SCHEME OF TRANSLITERATION

VOWELS

अ	आ	इ	ई	उ	ऊ	ऋ	ॠ	ऌ	ए	ऐ
a	ā	i	ī	u	ū	ṛ	ṝ	lṛ	e	ai
ओ	औ	अं		अः						
o	au	ṃ(*anusvāra*)		ḥ(*visarga*)						

CONSONANTS

क	ख	ग	घ	ङ	च	छ	ज	झ	ञ	ट
ka	kha	ga	gha	ṅa	ca	cha	ja	jha	ña	ṭa
ठ	ड	ढ	ण	त	थ	द	ध	न	प	फ
ṭha	ḍa	ḍha	ṇa	ta	tha	da	dha	na	pa	pha
ब	भ	म	य	र	ल	व	श	ष	स	ह
ba	bha	ma	ya	ra	la	va/wa	śa	ṣa	sa	ha
क्ष	त्र	ज्ञ								
kṣa	tra	jña								

The vowels are pronounced as follows:

a - as in *a*mber or the *u* in h*u*t.

ā - as in j*a*r but held twice as long as *a*.

i - as in t*i*n.

ī - as in p*i*que but held twice as long as *i*.

u - as in b*u*sh.

ū - as in r*u*le but held twice as long as *u*.

ṛ - as in u*r*n (but more like the French *ru*).

ṝ - same as *ṛ* but held twice as long.

lṛ - like *lruu*.

e - as in wh*e*y.

ai - as in *ai*sle.

o - as in *o*val.

au -as in n*ow*.

ṃ(*anusvāra*) - a resonant nasal like the *n* in the French word *bon*.

ḥ(*visarga*) - a finial *h*-sound: *aḥ* is pronounced like *aha*; *iḥ* like *ihi*.

The consonants are pronounced as follows:

k - as in *k*ey.

kh - as in Woc*kh*ardt.

g - as in *g*od.

gh - as in di*g-h*ard.

ṅ - as in ki*n*g.

c - as in *ch*ain.

ch- as in staun*ch-h*eart.

j - as in *j*oin.

jh - as in he*dge*hog.

ñ - as in ca*n*yon

ṭ - as in *t*ank.

ṭha- as in ligh*t-h*ouse.

ḍa -as in *d*ay.

ḍha- as in re*d-h*eart.

ṇ - as *rna* (prepare to say *r* but say *na*)

Cerebrals are pronounced with tongue to roof of the mouth, but the following dentals are pronounced with tongue against teeth:

t - as in *t*ank but with tongue against teeth.

th - as in ligh*t-h*ouse but with tongue against teeth.

d - as in *d*ay but with tongue against teeth.

dh - as in re*d-h*eart but with tongue against teeth.

n - as in *n*il but with tongue in between teeth.

p - as in *p*in.

ph - as in u*p-h*ill (not *f*)

b - as in in.

bh - as in ru*b-h*ard.

m - as in *m*oon.

y - as in *y*ak.

r - as in *r*ain.

l - as in *l*ook.

v - as in *v*an.

ś(palatal) - as in *s*pray.

ṣ (cerebral) - as *sh* in *sh*ip.

s - as in *s*un.

h - as in *h*ouse.

ABOUT THE AUTHOR

Paṇḍit Nārāyaṇ Miśra was the son of Banamāḷī Miśra and Maṇḍā Devī; and the grandson of Jagannāth Miśra and Geli Devī. He was born in a middleclass Brahmin family at Bīrapratāpapur *Śāsan* (founded by *Gajapati* Pratāparudra Dev & 13kms from Puri) in the year 1870. He was the eldest child of his parents and had six sisters. Soon after passing the Entrance Examination of the Calcutta University from Puri Zilla School in 1894, he joined the Police Department as an officer and served in different districts of Orissa as well as the Police Training School, Bhāgalpur (1904, Bihar). He resigned after several years of Government service. In between, he became a *Kāvyatīrtha* (*Veda*) and evinced interest in writing articles of academic interest.

When he was the Inspector in the Temple of Lord Jagannātha, His Highness the *Mahārājā* Sir Candrajī Samśer Juṅg Bāhādūr of Nepal visited the shrine. During the *darśan* of the deities, he put some questions to Śrī Miśra and was highly pleased with his prompt answers. On the *Mahārājā*'s instruction, he decided to write this treatise on the Temple. His *Jagannātha Tatwa Prakāśa* (an anthology of poems eulogising the greatness of Jagannātha), *Gītā Bhāṣāmṛta*, *Bodhendu Ratnākara*, and *Bīra Mitrodaya Campū* are yet to be published.

As the manager of Puri orphanage, he succeeded in securing permission from the *Mahārājā* and Superintendent of the Temple for the orphans of the famine of 1919 to enter the Jagannātha Temple in 1928. It is a matter of regret that his scholarly pursuits and solid values have remained largely unexplored. He married Durgābatī Devī (b.1880) of Dāmodarpur *Śāsan* situated at the outskirt of Puri in 1891. His only daughter Gourīmaṇi Devī (b.1903) married Govinda Chandra Miśra, the second son of *Paṇḍit* Māguṇi Miśra Brahmā of Puri (who in 1921 was conferred with the title of '*Vaidyaratna*' by Lord Chelmsford, the Viceroy and Governor - General of India in recognition of his eminent attainments) in 1912. *Paṇḍit* Miśra breathed his last on 19.8.1945 and his better half on 2.7.1964 at their Pathuriā Sāhi residence, Puri.

To Whom It May Concern

This is to certify that I have had the scholarly assistance of Pt. Narayan Misra for some days while I was lately in Puri and found his Oriya and historical scholarship most exceptionally sound. I have also looked through the manuscript of his book of the antiquities and history of the temple of Jagganath and most heartily recommend it, and trust that some friend of Indian learning will have it published.

W. Y. Evans-Wentz
M.A., D.Litt., D.Sc. (Oxon),
Member of Jesus College,
Oxford, on research tour
in India

Author of The Tibetan Book of the Dead;
Tibetan Yoga and Secret Doctrines;
etc.

Almora, U.P., March 24, 1936.

(Prof Evans-Wentz's "The Tibetan Book of the Dead" and " Tibetan Yoga and Secret Doctrines" were published by the Oxford University Press.)

EDITOR'S NOTE

A period of inaction and futile exercises of seventy-five years must be very tormenting for a soul when a text authored by him on the temple of the Lord of the universe - *Prabhu* Jagannātha could not see the light of the day. During his lifetime, Late *Paṇḍit* Nārāyaṇ Miśra was eager to publish the 'Annals and Antiquities of the Temple of Jagannātha' and wanted to know the readers' reaction which is a natural human expectation but God wished otherwise. He even brought out '*Pahili Bhoga*' - a booklet which forms a part of the unpublished text but the outcome then was not very encouraging because of limited number of English readers.

According to the author, the greatness of this fascinating Temple which casts a magic spell on the beholder lies in its unique practices and customs. There are no two opinions that the Temple of Lord Jagannātha in *Śrīkṣetra* is one of the major shrines in India and sojourn here leads to spiritual upliftment. But one is reminded that the importance of the cult of Jagannātha and the temple is not confined to the religious domain alone. Although there is no convergence of views regarding the origin of worship here, the following alludes to its remote antiquity. Śāyaṇācārya believed, the following *sukta* (canto)-

ādaujaddāru pḷavate sindhoḥ pare apauruṣam/
tadarabhasva durhaṇo tena gaccha purastaram//

(*Ṛg Veda* X-155-3)

i.e., one can achieve salvation by having deep reverence to the formless (supra-human) *dārubrahma* (divine-wood) that sailed in from the other side of the ocean is probably intended for *Śrī* Puruṣottama Jagannātha. In the *Mahābhārata*, it is stated:

esodharma jagannāthāt sākṣāt nārāyaṇāt nṛpaḥ/
ebamesa mahādharmaḥ sate pūrbe nṛpottamaḥ//

(*Śāntiparva*, sec. 11)

i.e., people venerated Jagannātha as the personification of Nārāyaṇa and followed Jagannāthism as their way of life. The remoteness of the shrine is understandable when Lord Rāma in the *Uttarākāṇḍa* advises Vibhīṣaṇa to worship Jagannātha (*ārādhaya jagannāthaṃ ikṣwāku kuḷadaivataṃ/*) believing Him to be the Sun-God, the *iṣṭadevatā* of His (Rāma's) own *Īkṣwāku* clan. Jain priest Mānatuṅga (6th century A.D.) has compared Tīrthaṅkara Riṣav Dev with *Śrī* Puruṣottama alongwith Buddha and Śaṅkara – "Thou, O Lord, art Puruṣottama, the highest of all the beings" (Winternitz, 1985).

The author, however, thinks that the worship of Puruṣottama Jagannātha in *Śrīkṣetra* probably started by king Indradyumna in the 10th Century B.C. much after the epic age and the allusions made regarding its existence to a period even earlier are full of discrepancies and at times absurd. But he realizes, "in the flood of obscurity of Hindu history, measuring the distance of its historic incidents and institutions is fraught with grave considerations to their antiquities." That the Temple of Jagannātha was turned into a Buddhist shrine for centuries and the Lord was then popularly known as Buddha is obvious in the current text.

It is believed that the roughly hewn *Caturdhā Mūrties* best represent the sublime expectations of the believers and definite forms might have diluted Their closeness to the devotees. Śrīkṛṣṇa has said Arjuna in the *Gītā*,

ye yathā māṃ prapadyante tān tathaiva bhajāmyaham/

mama vartmānuvartante manuṣyāḥ pārtha sarvaśaḥ// (4/11)

I fulfill the desires of a person appearing in the form in which he has conceptualized Me.

The manner in which the devotees express before Him their love or respect, the way they plead for mercy by indulging in a kind of child-like scorn or criticism is never seen anywhere. The presiding deities are believed to be living like any other mortal passing through the cycle of life and death (*navakaḷevara*). But what is so uncommon is that They are not confined to any particular religion but accessible to all. We thus find a most wonderful display of the oneness of the human spirit here *sans* any difference and disunion among the various religious groups. Even though in the Jagannātha cult, the folk culture is conspicuous, it is an amalgamation of practices of diverse religious sects such as Buddhism, Jainism, Śaivism, Śaktism, Souraism, Tāntricism, and Vaiṣṇavism.

Religion continues to be the basis of our thought and life down the ages. Umpteen times it has been observed that religion or for that matter the spiritual leanings of an individual can sensitise him to bear untold miseries and frustrations. Fanatics ravaged the Temple of Jagannātha and the *dāru bigrahas* were even desecrated and burnt, but resilience and fortitude of the devotees sustained the traditions. Annals and antiquities of such shrines generally arouse deep reverence and inquisitiveness in people irrespective of their religious and social orientations. Innumerable books, journals, and periodicals have come up over the years on the cult of Jagannātha, on *Puruṣottama kṣetra*, on the *nīties*, and the *sevak* systems etc but writings on the shrine before the thirties of the last century are few and far between. As such, it is a pioneering work and takes a holistic view of the shrine.

The reader may encounter many interesting facts in this book. We are

enlightened that a tsunami like devastation during the reign of Raktabāhu led to the formation of the Cilikā Lake and changed the physical features of Purī. There is an anecdote regarding the origin of *Śakti* worship in the temple. During the days of Marāṭhās vast quantities of stones including the *Aruṇastambha* were brought from the ruins of the Koṇārk temple and battlements on the outer compound walls of the Purī temple were constructed. The belief that Lord Jagannātha - the symbol of universal love and brotherhood - remained underground for nearly seven generations in the jungles of Gopāli (Sonepur) has been reiterated in the text. The author, not without reason, laments that the lack of extensive ornamentation on the body of this Temple might have been due to its hasty construction.

The periods of *Ādi* Śaṅkarācārya and King Yajāti mentioned in the text may not be acceptable to some readers but the author has made a reasonable presentation of his views. It needs to be stated that at about the time when *Ādi* Śaṅkarācārya was at Purī (67A.D.), thousands of Jewish refugees reached the Mālabār Coast (not far from Śaṅkar's home) when their temple in Jerusalem was destroyed; apostle Thomas Dadymus was on ecclesiastical mission in South India; Emperor Ming-ti of China sent emissaries to our country for Buddhist texts; and sage Kāśyapa Mātaṅga went to China on a scholarly mission and never returned. The Śaṅkarācārya who is said to have flourished in the 8th century may not be addressed with the prefix '*ādi*' which means ancient. Be that as it may, to believe that for consolidating Hinduism, the followers of this faith took a few more centuries seems to be naive.

The constraints of the author were many e.g., as an ordinary person he could not ascend the Jagannātha temple to examine the sculptures of its upper segment. At one place he has observed, "Over the body of the main tower *Purāṇic* Hindu pantheons are noticed but whether they are stone-cut bas-relief figures plastered with lime or are pure lime mouldings is a question." But deplastering of these thick lime claddings by the Archaeological Survey of India (ASI) fifty years hence (from the author's observation) answers this question and speaks altogether a different story.

The labour the author has injected into his mission is undoubtedly stupendous keeping in view his gargantuan difficulties in accessing relevant materials. The work reflects on the origin of the shrine, its management, the vicissitudes it has witnessed, the *sevaks* of the temple, daily rituals of the deities, its architectural excellence, and some interesting anecdotes; and covers a long period from the ancient times to the colonial era (in the thick of which it was written). The author has emphasized, "the learned may accept according to their predilection... but the truth is truth and mystery remains a mystery all along."

Because of the blessings of *Prabhu* Jagannātha and my father Late *Paṇḍit* Sadāśiv Mishra *Brahmā Jyotirvid* (the grandson of the author) who was no less concerned for the publication of the text, I could lay my hands on the work and tried my very best to bring this to the notice of the readers in whose psyche the Lord resides.

I am grateful to the Director General of National Archives, Government of India, New Delhi for his prompt action in providing a generous grant for the publication of this book. I am also thankful to my brothers for the necessary input. I acknowledge the precious help extended by my friend Arabind, my sons Anshuman and Anubhav, and surely my wife.

Lastly, I am to state that certain notes and appendices have been added by me for the benefit of the readers and to segregate them, asterisk marks have been put against the author's.

Jai Jagannātha.

Durga Nandan Mishra

PREFACE

It is a common complaint throughout India that whilst the abode of Lord Jagannātha as one of the four '*dhāmas*' (great Hindu religious shrines) is of paramount importance to the Hindus and the students of religion, there is not a single work in any language giving a clear and correct account of the foundation of the Temple and its subsequent development through many ups and downs of its grand institutions and establishments. The author had the opportunity of serving as an Inspector of the great Temple for some time during which he attempted to compile data for this work from a mass of useful historic information with the hope of partially removing this universal complaint. But unfortunately, he was obliged to resign his service in the Temple and the compilation remained incomplete for sometime. In his subsequent endeavour, he chanced upon a manuscript of a portion of the *Mādaḷāpāñji* - a collection of Temple records, which was in the safe custody of his *Gurujī Mahāmahopādhyāya Paṇḍit* Sadāsiv Miśra *Kābyakaṇṭha Mahāpadeśaka*. This afforded great help in obtaining valuable information to complete the work that this author had initiated.

It is an entirely independent work based on materials obtained directly from original sources, on traditions and legends that have all the appearance of being facts as well as on the feeble data afforded by the aforementioned manuscript, and partly also on personal investigations carried on during the brief period of his official connection with the Temple. Still, as far as he knows, the work is yet incomplete in many respects principally because his access to several sources of information ceased with his resignation; and his later endeavours to tap the same proved absolutely and hopelessly futile. In deducing historic materials from some local anecdotes, legends, and traditions, there might have been some errors of judgement (as is natural in the absence of credible corroborative authorities), which gentle readers are expected to excuse and point out for rectification in subsequent editions.

It is a matter of regret that some noteworthy information collected on the prevailing systems of *bhogas* and *yātrās* (feasts & festivities) observed in the temple throughout the year and some other things equally useful and appealing could not be incorporated as their accuracy could not be verified owing to the unsympathetic attitude of some persons in authority. Any way, if this work is found to be interesting and useful to the general readers and serves in any way as a guide to the thousands of pilgrims who visit the great shrine, the author finding his labour as not in vain, would gladly undertake further researches for an enlarged and improved second edition. Now, with a heart full of hopes

and anxieties, he presents the work to the people who are enamoured by the great Temple and its presiding deities.

In conclusion, the author has great pleasure to express his gratefulness to *Mahāmahopādhyāyajī* for his kind permission to make use of the manuscript that he had carefully preserved with him. The author admits his inability in language to proclaim his immense debt of gratitude he owes to *Bābu* Lokanāth Pattanāik, M.A., B.L., Puri Bar for his willingness in revising the whole manuscript with due care and attention and for making some important suggestions. He too sincerely acknowledges his obligations to *Lokabandhu* Lakṣmī Nārāyaṇ Pattanāik, M.V.E., Ex- Munsif of Puri; and to *Bābu* Madhusūdan Pattanāik, B.L., Puri Bar, who had kindly gone through his preliminary notes and encouraged him to follow further research to complete the work in its present shape.

Gopīnāthpur Śāsan,
Puri,
15. 01. 1929.

Narayan Misra

CONTENTS

I

Origin of the Shrine

By far the largest of all the edifices among the holy shrines in India, the far-famed Temple of Jagannātha (Lord of the Universe) adorned with raving triangular flags on its majestic *cakra*, rears its gigantic stature into the azure blue sky, being situated near the seashore at Purī in the eastern corner of Orissa. The beauteous, huge, and top most pitcher-like *dadhinauti* upon which the *cakra* is firmly seated, the underneath *pagree*, and the massive *āmaḷaka śiḷā* press down to keep intact the wonderful structure. With a *Rāmānandī* smeared on the forefront and profusely decked with numerous faithful statues of dreadful lions of titanic sizes all around the neck, at wing points, the breast, and innumerable clean-cut statues of various descriptions and magnitudes tastefully distributed over its magnificent oval shape of a partly sunk '*haritaki*', it best repays a visit with its picturesque opulence which surpasses excellence of beauty. Together with the equally super ornamented range of the *Mukhaśāḷā* (*Mohana*, the porch), the *Nāṭamandira* (the festive hall), and the *Bhogamaṇḍapa* (the hall of offerings) temples, exuding perfect coordination of different styles of art and facing due east looking over the vast expanse of the Bay of Bengal (towards *Śwetadwīpa* in *Kṣīrasāgara* - the white island in the ocean of milk?), it stands as a tower of strength amidst numerous temples within an extensive terraced square-court surrounded by two massive inner and outer walls punctuated with eight magnificent gate-temples erected in positions nearly agreeable to the four cardinal directions. Ever resounding with tremendous rush of pilgrims and votaries from all parts of the world, it is a standing monument to the greatness and glory of ancient Utkal; and an object of supreme pride to the Hindus in general and Oriyās in particular.

Purī or *Jagannātha dhām* better known as *Puruṣottama kṣetra* is described in the *Purāṇas* as a highly sacred place. Here, the ' Supreme Being' or the *Parambrahma* Viṣṇu - the all pervading universal soul in His seven-fold forms (*saptadhā mūrtis*)

as represented in the images of Śrī Jagannātha[1], Śrī Baḷabhadra[2], Devī Subhadrā[3], Śrī Sudarśana[4], Śrīdevī (Lakṣmī)[5], Bhūdevī (Saraswatī)[6], and Mādhava[7] - manifest Himself on the holy *ratnasiṃhāsana* (throne decked with gems) within the sanctum sanctorum to receive homage and offerings from the mortals and to save the sinners and reward the virtuous. The presiding *caturdhā dārūmurtis* made of neem-wood (*Azadirachta indica*) surprisingly go for periodic renewal through a ceremony called *navakaḷevara.* The shrine is esteemed highly sacred as being generally believed to be the *Martya vaikunṭha* (the divine abode on earth) where all *Purāṇic* rituals and ceremonials of Lord Viṣṇu, exclusively in the name of the Supreme Incarnate Śrīkṛṣṇa, are being performed in strict conformity with Hindu scriptures ever since its consecration by *Mahārājā* Indradyumna. It is this deep - seated belief that draws thousands of Hindus even from the remote regions of the country throughout the year for *darśan* of the *dārubrahma* (divine wood) deities ensconced in the great Temple.

It is natural to an inquisitive mind to ask and wonder as to when and under what circumstances the shrine of Lord Jagannātha or *Puruṣottama kṣetra* was first founded by Indradyumna, the king of Mālwa (western India) not in any way connected with the exploits of Hindus' deified heroes of remote antiquity; and as to when and by whom the present wonderful series of lofty edifices were constructed; and the prevailing system of its grand feasts, festivities, and rituals were organized and introduced once for all; and as to what were the resources from which the whole system was maintained. Annals , antiquities, and other interesting historical anecdotes of the great Temple relating to these issues form the subject matter of this piece of work intended for the knowledge of the generous readers.

Most Sanskrit texts on the origin of the shrine are impregnated with untrustworthy and improbable episodes calculated only to excite the credulous mind. These are so inconsistent in their presentations that learned antiquarians have preferred to overlook them. But in the process, they have aptly ignored many important historic facts they embody. *Purāṇas* describe that this shrine was founded by king Indradyumna in the *satyayuga* . Some believe, it was originally an important

1. In Purī, Jagannātha is one of the ten *avatārs* (incarnations) of Viṣṇu.

   "nīḷādrau śaṅkhamadhye śatadaḷakamaḷe ratnasiṃhāsanastham/
   sarvāḷaṅkārayuktaṃ nabaghanaruciraṃ sañjuktaṃcāgrajena//
   bhadrāyā bāmabhāge rathacaraṇayutaṃ brahmārudreṅdrabandyam/
   vedānāṃ sāramekaṃ sakaḷaguṇayutaṃ brahmadāru smarāmi//"

2. Baḷarāma or Saṅkarṣaṇa is the elder half-brother of Śrīkṛṣṇa. He is believed to be Śiva and also identified as the incarnation of Ananta / Śeṣa (the serpent).

3. *Kāmpilyabāsinī* Subhadrā (the sister of Jagannātha) is equated with *ekāṇāmśa* –*"ekāṇāmsa kāryā devī baḷadeva kṛṣṇayor madhye/ kaṭi samsthita- bāmakara sarojamitareṇa codbahatī //"* (*Bṛhat Samhitā*, Varāhamihira). Being known as a form of Durgā-Kātyāyanī, she is worshipped with the *mantra* of Bhūbaneśwarī- Durgā. A ritual has thus evolved for worshipping Jagannātha, Subhadrā, and Baḷabhadra with the *Gopāḷamantra*, the *Bhūbaneśwarī mantra*, and the *Vāsudeva mantra* respectively.

Buddhist shrine which the Hindus advantageously seized when Buddhism declined during the reign of King Yajāti (founder of the *Keśarī* dynasty). The issue - difficult and important as it is - needs to be discussed in due course in this work and it has been made possible through sifting materials available in the limited field of my endeavour.

The *Puruṣottama kṣetra māhātmya* (*Pur. Māh.*) incorporated in the *Skanda Purāṇa* when stripped of its mythical garb, furnishes best evidence regarding the antiquity of the Temple. Examination of its contents vis-a-vis allusions made in the *Mahābhārata* and other *Purāṇas* indicates that the establishment of *Puruṣottama kṣetra* (the abode of the Supreme Being) or *Jagannātha dhām*, the holiest of Hindu shrines in India took place long after the demise of Śrīkṛṣṇa at Dwārakā in the 12th year of *kaḷiyuga*, 5017 years ago, i.e. about 3088 years before Christ (from today's reckoning, 1929 A.D.). It also appears from the same text that at the present site there existed a blue hill afterwards called Nīḷācaḷa, Nīḷādri, or Nīḷagiri with Nīḷamādhava Dev (a blue stone idol) or Nārāyaṇa in its cave holding *śaṅkha* (conchshell), *cakra* (discus), *gadā* (mace), and *padma* (lotus) in His four hands. One Viśwāvasu (a *śabara)* who had his residence at Kapāḷeśwar on the bank of river Bhārgabī (eight miles to the north-west of Purī) was the only human being who had access to Him. He, it is said, had to pass through dense jungles to offer fruits and flowers to the deity. It further appears therefrom that this part of the woods was not then inhabited by other aborigines except Viśwāvasu and his family; and was quite unknown to the rest of the world.

Vidyāpati was the first priestly missionary who was deputed by *Mahārājā* Indradyumna of Ujjain (of Mālwa or Māḷava) in western India to travel through inhospitable terrain to Kapāḷeśwar in quest of Nīḷācala and Nīḷamādhaba Dev. With the help of Viśwāvasu, he at last succeeded in getting into the *Nīḷadeuḷa* where his vow was fulfilled in having a glimpse of the Lord. He soon returned and narrated before his master the outcome of the exalted mission. Thereupon, Indradyumna accompanied by a host of his people including his family and vast treasures set out for the holy place. But owing to some inexplicable

Although these three deities combine in themselves the *Vaiṣṇava*, *Śākta*, and the *Śaiva* traditions, they represent at the same time the character of Vaiṣṇavite trinity.

4. *Sṭambhākṛti* (log-like) Sudarśana, to the left of Jagannātha, is different from the weapon (*āyudha*) of Śrīkṛṣṇa and believed by the *Sauras* (worshippers of Sun-God) to be representing Sūrya *Deva*.

5. Lakṣmī (Śrīdevī, the consort of Viṣṇu) is the goddess of wealth and fortune. She is also the daughter of Varuṇa, the guardian of the west and the God-sovereign associated with oceans and waters.

6. Saraswatī (Bhūdevī ,Viśwadhātrī) is the goddess of speech, art, music, and letters. She is the consort of Viṣṇu and believed to be the daughter or grand-daughter of Brahmā.

7. In the *Utkaḷakhanḍa* of *Skanda Purāṇa*, it has been mentioned that Mādhava (*Gāṇapatyas* believe Him to be Ganeśa) was the first to be worshipped in the temple.

"yan māṃ mādhavamurtiṃ tvaṃ purā prāthita bānasi/
tat saiva yaḥ purā yo' ayamavatāraḥ kṛtamayā//"

reasons, the blue hill alongwith Nīḷamādhaba residing in its cave disappeared before he reached the destination, leaving behind only a gigantic sand-dune.

Indradyumna was beside himself with grief for not being able to have a *darśan* of the Lord. Later, he was directed in a dream to perform *aśwamedha* (horse sacrifice), *godāna* (cow-gifts), and other rituals to fulfill his desire. The king acted as directed and as a result of his austerities, he one day chanced upon a piece of magnificent *dāru* (timber) bearing celestial marks on the sea beach. He made deities out of it and worshipped them in place of Nīḷamādhaba. He later constructed a temple over the site of Nīḷācaḷa and finally ensconced therein the images of Lord Jagannātha, Lord Baḷarāma, Devī Subhadrā, and Lord Sudarśana as in their present forms. He arranged for *bhogas* and *yātrās* (feasts and festivities) according to *dharma śāstras* (holy scriptures) and appointed *sevaks* (servitors) to carry them on. In commemoration of the inauguration ceremony or the first installation of the deities on *Baiśakha śukḷa saptamī* (the 7th day after the new moon), a ceremony known as *Nīḷādrimahodaya* is still being celebrated each year in the temple. Till then *Puruṣottama kṣetra* or Nīḷācaḷa was but an isolated and secluded shrine on the east coast, unknown, and inaccessible to people. The distinct religious importance attributed to it and its perception as the *Bhogapīṭha* of *Śrī* Bhagabān gradually spread throughout and by degrees took a firm hold over the Hindu population. As a result, it is now the foremost amongst the shrines and *dhāmas* (religious places) in the Hindu world.

There is a traditional belief that Nīḷācaḷa was a little island in the sea, which had an extension as far as the Varuṇāi hill in Khurdā. A great portion of Purī *sadar* sub-division now situated on the delta of the Mahānadī was then virtually under the sea level and when both the existing rivers of Bhārgabī and Dayā contributed to silting, the region rose up and was covered with woods. This belief is not wholly unfounded as geologists are of the opinion that the three coastal districts of Orissa are the result of accumulation of silt deposited by the numerous rivers and thus there is natural extension of land towards the sea. Kanikā, Kujaṅg, and other places where rivers meet and join the sea, deltaic land gradually gain into the sea. The present Varuṇāi hill, the legends say, was on the seashore where Varuṇa (the sea god) was worshipped.

Broadly speaking, *Puruṣottama kṣetra* and its vicinity are situated on a tract of land on the seashore bound on the north-west, the west, and the south-west by the Samagarā, the Samaṅga, and the Cilikā respectively and all these water bodies are joined to one another by an intricate river system. During the rainy season, these get profusely swollen and flow over a vast tract of land transforming themselves and the villages close to them on the left side of the river Bhārgabī into an enormous expanse of water of many square miles. This water logging remains for about five months even now on both sides of the grand

Jagannātha trunk road, which is the main communication link to Purī. During the floods, it appeared very much like an island in the past. As such, Viśwavasu was unable to cross the waters and the heavenly beings (*devatās*) were believed to have worshipped Nīḷamādhaba during this period. Unlike the Cilikā, the Samaṅga, and the Samagarā lakes have no direct connection with the sea. They also get separated from each other and from the Cilikā after the rainy season. In the scorching heat of the summer as the water courses or channels shrink, the Samaṅga and the Samagarā are themselves converted into vast fields but not the Cilikā.

It is said that the Cilikā, once a part of the sea, was separated from it by an elevated narrow ridge of sand caused by an eruption in the sea and shaped itself apparently into a lake having a small channel opening into the sea at Arakhakudā. Through it, large volume of water contributed by the rivers are discharged and in turn saline water of the sea is received during high tides. The extensity of the Cilikā is considerably reduced in summer months but it is nonetheless a saline lake throughout the year. When it was a part of the sea, Dayā and Bhārgabī were very furious tidal rivers. Their branches also used to rush tremendous volume of seawater upstream to a distance of few miles. The smaller rivulets that ran from the Samaṅga and the Samagarā were equally tidal and made it difficult for the pilgrims to pass over at Ālāmcaṇḍī or Aḷambā Devī at the northern approach to *Puruṣottama kṣetra.* Now as the Bhārgabī and the Dayā have changed their courses and discharge their burden of silt into the Cilikā Lake, it is getting shallower over the years. It may so happen, in course of time, the Cilikā would be converted into a vast field fit for cultivation.

From the above general survey, it appears that Nīḷācaḷa was at first, in remote antiquity, a little island within the sea situated close to the coast and got connected with the main land owing to the general extension of land towards the sea caused by large volumes of silt gradually deposited by the nearby rivers. The legends relating to the foundation of Nīḷācaḷa may be incredible myths or have truth in them, but the belief that it was once a little island remains nearly undisputed.

King Indradyumna had sufficiently realized the difficulty in accessing the shrine and hence constructed a bridge over the river adjacent to the locality. This bridge which consisted of eighteen culverts is the now famous Aṭharanaḷā. It is said, he sacrificed his eighteen sons here during its construction. And in commemoration of the name of his deceased wife (Guṇḍicā Devī), he built the temple of Ālāmcaṇḍī or Aḷambā Devī nearby at her cremation site. Even to this day, the *panḍās* or keepers of this shrine bear testimony to it by invoking the deity within as queen Guṇḍicā. Indradyumna had his Madhupur palace close to the bridge and in course of time, the river was addressed after it. Interestingly, the existing rivulet that dries up during summer is even today known by that name. That it was once a furious tidal river justified the construction of such a huge and

gigantic bridge over it. During the reign of the *Gaṅga* dynasty in Orissa, it became necessary to reconstruct it for reasons described elsewhere (chapter II). Although a new culvert was added to the existing ones increasing the number to nineteen, it continued to be known as Aṭharanaḷā. *Mahārājā Kavi* Narasiṃha Dev effected its second reconstruction under the supervision of his minister, Paṭṭajoṣi Narendra Mahāpātra who also initiated the excavation of the famous Narendra tank.

Mahārājā Indrayumna had appointed *sevakas* (servitors) to carry on the rituals and festivities connected with the Temple. It appears from old records that the *sevakas* employed then were not as numerous as are at present. The *sevaka* establishment consisted of different groups and each of which was entrusted with definite duties. The *Mahārājā* took upon himself certain duties as a member of one such group. As the founder of the Temple and its administrative system, he was recognized as the head of the institution. It is since his time that the king of Purī has been and still being universally acknowledged as the *sevāyat* proprietor. The different groups of *sevakas* are thus known as *nijogs* ; and the *Rāj nijog* is the *sevāyat* proprietor who governs the whole system. During later kings, additional services were created and new groups of *sevakas* were appointed to perform them. The *nijog* establishment will be elaborately dealt with in a separate chapter.

Indradyumna had no male issue to survive him. His queen Guṇḍicā Devī died grieving the death of her sons but before her death, she entreated her husband to erect a monument connected with the worship of Jagannātha to immortalize her name. In order to perpetuate her memory, *Yajñavedī* or more popularly known Janakapur (cradle of gods) was constructed out of the remnants of a palace once inhabited by them. This temple continued to be called *Guṇḍicā ghar* (house) after the great queen; and to this shrine, the deities of the great Temple were carried (still are carried) in well-decorated stately wooden cars (*rathas*)to be worshipped for nearly a week every year commencing from the anniversary of her death. This was the modest origin of the car festival or the *Guṇḍicāyātrā* also known as *Navadina patitapāvana yātrā*, which is very eulogistically described in the *Purāṇas* as the most auspicious occasion for acquisition of religious merit. This is an occasion when the *patitas* (fallen ones) not privileged to have admittance into the great Temple get an opportunity to see the deities on the cars. In close proximity to *Guṇḍicā mandir*, there is the holy tank of Indradyumna counted as one among the holy '*snāna tīrthas*' [8] (sacred places for bathing) of Puri. This *mahātīrtha* is said to have been dug out by the romping feet of innumerable consecrated cows given as *dāna* (gifts) to *brāhmaṇs* by Indradyumna(consequently addressed as *Mahārājā*) and filled with sacred water poured by the cupped palms of the recipients.

8. Besides Indradyumna (485ft x 296ft), the other *tīrthas* are Śwetagaṅgā (tank, 254ft x 184ft), Mārkaṇḍa (tank), Maṇikarnīkā (well)/ Rohinīkuṇḍa (inside the Temple premises), and *Mahodadhi* (the sea).



II

Construction of the Temple down the Ages

Sūta-Samhitā is perhaps the earliest religious code extant of the Temple of Jagannātha[1] and it was probably compiled after the erection of the great shrine. Sanskrit texts including this work, the *Mādaḷāpāñji* (a chronicle of the temple records), local traditions, as well as other Oriyā compositions bear unequivocal testimony to the fact that the shrine was founded by *Mahārājā* Indradyumna who was a king of Ujjain in *satyayuga*. Although many improbable mythological episodes of little interest calculated only to excite the credulous mind find a place in them, it is not safe to discredit altogether the information furnished by these authorities. To treat the illustrious founder of the Temple as an imagination of the *Purānic* mind like Nārada and Brahmā (two mythological figures) who were believed to have helped him as his spiritual guides in his great undertaking would be tantamount to travesty of facts. In a view to antiquate and exalt the shrine, the Brahmin authors of the *Purāṇas* have certainly gone too far back fixing the period of its foundation in remote unknown age called *satyayuga* long before the age of the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata* without noticing the fact that this Temple does not find a place among the list of ancient Hindu shrines recorded in those epics. In spite of all the discrepancies and absurdities they contain, the information regarding the establishment of the great Temple by king Indradyumna is acceptable as an untarnished historic truth. And as the two great Hindu epics are wholly silent about this shrine, we may believe it to have been constructed long after the epic age.

It is described in some length in the *Puruṣottama kṣetra māhātmya* that King Indradyumna had engaged Viśwakarmā (the divine architect) to erect a temple to a

1. A devout Hindu ever longs to visit the four *dhāms* (holy places) located at four cardinal points of our country viz., Badrīnāth (as Nārāyaṇa in the North), Rāmeśwaram (as Śrī Rāmacandra in the South), Jagannātha (as *Dārubrahma* in the East), and Dwāraka (as Śrīkṛṣṇa in the West) to ensure salvation. It is believed, Viṣṇu takes bath at Badrināth *dhām*, does *Śrīngāra* at Rāmeśwaram, takes food at Jagannātha *dhām*, and sleeps at Dwāraka; and pilgrimage to the last two places liberates the soul (*mokṣadāyinī*).

height of one hundred cubits and the latter is said to have employed numerous artisans for the accomplishment of this feat. It further appears from the same text that Viśwakarmā simultaneously built the minor temples within the temple precincts. The blue hill containing Nīḷamādhaba Dev within its cave is said to have been covered or replaced by a huge sand-dune after Vidyāpati visited it. Supposing this was done by the divine will, we are not inclined to discredit the statements that *Puruṣottama kṣetra māhātmya* contains on the issue. Even if we believe that the said blue hill was at once covered with sand by the potent and changeable forces of nature, we would naturally expect at least the foundation of the temple on the very spot and some artifacts and stones that were utilized in building the later temple by the so called Viśwakarmā and his artisans. But where are those things now? There is no trace whatever of the existence of any blue hill at or about the present site of the great temple. According to Sanskrit texts only Viśwāvasu and Vidyāpati ever had the privilege of having a sight of this supposed blue hill. Was it then really a dune covered with a network of *'kansari'* (*Ipomoea pescaprae*) creepers presenting a blue appearance to the onlookers from a distance like innumerable sand-dunes which are still to be seen along the coast? The available literature alludes to the fact that Vidyāpati, on his subsequent visit, found neither the blue hill nor Nīḷamādhaba Dev. The author of the said text is wholly responsible for this curious and almost unbelievable story and unfortunately most other writers too followed suit.

It is generally accepted that a huge temple was constructed by Indradyumna and he ensconced therein the sacred idols. As he had no sons to survive him, he made over the charge of the temple to Gālamādhaba Dev (a sub-ordinate king) before his death. The *Mādaḷāpāñji* like the *Purāṇas* records Indradyumna as the illustrious founder of the shrine in *satyayuga* but nowhere mentions his name in its chronology of the *Purāṇic* kings beginning from *satyayuga* down to the end of *dwāpara*. Curiously, it is so advantageously drawn up that one is nonplussed to find hundreds and thousands of years being allotted to each king. Whatever extravagant and untrustworthy might have been its system of chronology, the valuable historic information it contains in the first few pages is to the effect that Indradyumna first erected the great Temple. And one Saśoka Dev or in other words Aśoka – the Emperor of north India had reconstructed it after Indradyumna. Some antiquarians tend to discount Indradyumna as a mythical *Purāṇic* figure and view that Aśoka installed the Buddhist trinity[2] over the pre-existing Buddhist shrine of Dantapura(purī) which is even identified as *Jagannāthapurī* by others. But it is a question to be gravely considered as to whether the Buddhist trinity was an imitation of the trinity of the parent religion that was adored at Purī. Be that as it may, the existence of the sacred Indradyumna tank and the annual celebration of

2. *Buddha, Dharma,* and *Saṅgha* constitute the Buddhist trinity and are represented in several Aśokān edicts.

the venerable ritual of *Nīḷādrimahodaya* in Jagannātha temple are the living souvenir of Indradyumna which no scholar would prefer to deny. It needs to be stated that none of the experts consulted by the author furnished any credible information on the probable time of the great king.

From the *Mādaḷāpāñji*, it is known that one Saśoka Dev who flourished after the demise of Yudhiṣṭhira rebuilt the temple to a height of fortyfive cubits as the temple left by Indradyumna was overgrown with trees and on the verge of collapse. Assuming that the reconstruction of the temple by the former was the first in its history, one is led to conclude that the foundation of the shrine by the latter must have taken place a few centuries before. It may be accepted without any fear of contradiction that stone temples of superior workmanship constructed on suitable sites can remain unimpaired for 300 years. But in the course of another 300 years, they gradually deteriorate and succumb to the ravages of nature. If repairs are not undertaken before long they finally crumble.

The second reconstruction of the shrine was initiated by Yajāti and it must have withstood the wear and tear of nature for about 700 years more when it was reconstructed for the third time in its present gigantic form by King Anaṅgabhīma Dev II over 700 years ago from today. Had not this temple undergone occasional repairs and petty reconstructions, it must have come by this time to an absolute stage of collapse. King Yajāti Keśarī 's era is fixed by antiquarians at about the year 474 A.D. This assumption is supported by an inscription on the temple of Bhūbaneśwar as well as by the copperplate grants of some kings of his dynasty. If we presume that the temple ascribed to have been built by Saśoka Dev enjoyed the usual duration of existence (i.e., 700 years), its first reconstruction would therefore go back to 226 B.C., i.e., 700 years before 474 A.D. when the Buddhist king Aśoka was the powerful Emperor of north India. It may be recalled, he conquered the province of Kaliṅga (modern Orissa) after the ghastly war of 261 B.C. But driven by profound remorse, he embraced Buddhism (257 B.C.) and became an enthusiast and zealous promulgator of this faith. It would be seen hereafter (chapter VII) that probably during Aśoka's time the temple was seized by the Buddhists and which continued to be so till *Ādi* Śaṅkarācārya recovered it from them in 67 A.D.; and how afterwards its importance gradually soared. According to the extravagant chronology of the *Mādaḷāpāñji*, Saśoka Dev's reign commenced from the year 821 B.C. , but it would be quite unwise and unsafe to rely upon this apparently whimsical statement.

Beginning from Yudhiṣṭhira down to the time of Raktabāhu's invasion of Orissa (chapter III) the *Mādaḷāpāñji* gives us a list of some seventeen kings in which the names of Parīkṣita, Janmejaya, Bhoja, Vikramāditya, and other renowned kings of India have been included. This raises in our mind a strong notion that King Saśoka Dev of the *Mādaḷāpāñji* was none other than King Aśoka of the

Magadha Empire who might have erected a temple or monument at or about the site of the shrine which was possibly in a damaged or dilapidated condition when it fell into the hands of the Buddhists. During the time of Yajāti when the sacred *dārubrahma* idols were recovered from a tomb in the Sonepur Gopāli jungles where they had been lying for about 146 years and repositioned in the Temple (chapter III), the practice of writing the *Mādaļāpāñji* was reactivated. The chronicler who was entrusted with the arduous task of rewriting the lost portion from his own memory had to rely for the most part upon his imagination to accomplish this difficult task. He correctly mentioned the names of the traditional founder and the builder of the first temple but erroneously ascribed its first reconstruction to Saśoka Dev, which we are sure is a natural slip for Aśoka Dev.

If 226 B.C. is accepted as the probable year of the first reconstruction of the temple and if the one erected by Indradyumna had really withstood the ravages of 700 years, we need to reckon 926 B.C. as the approximate date of the foundation of the shrine by Indradyumna. In the absence of any authoritative text, the above inference regarding the period of construction of the temple appears to be very near the reality and supports our presumption that its establishment occurred long after the epic age. Still it must be admitted that the life period of temples and other edifices depends upon their configuration and the materials used. The method of calculation we have adopted can give us but a precarious idea of the age in which Indradyumna flourished and built the Temple of Jagannātha. But, all the same, taking available materials into consideration, we are inclined to believe that Indradyumna founded the shrine in the 10th century B.C. Let us, however, patiently wait for the results of further research on the issue.

In the 11th year of his reign, Yajāti is said to have installed the *dārubrahma* idols in the temple which was renovated by him for the second time in its history. Its height then was 38 cubits (57ft). The first reconstruction of the temple may be presumed to have taken place about the year 226 B.C. Following the above calculation, if we assume that 700 years might have elapsed before a second reconstruction became necessary then this king must have reigned at about the year 474 A.D. After Yajāti, there is no mention in the *Mādaļāpāñji* of any repairs or improvements till the memorable reign of *Mahārājā* Anaṅgabhīma Dev II in the line of Coḍagaṅga *alias* Curaṅga Dev of the *Gaṅga* dynasty in Orissa. Anaṅgabhīma was a great conqueror and extended his kingdom from the Ganges in Bengal to the Godāvarī in the Deccan. It is believed he collected a vast booty (47, 88, 000 '*māḍhas*' of gold, each ½ *toļā*) from the regions he conquered during his expeditions in the south. Having himself noticed some auspicious omen, he converted the simple hamlet of Bārabāṭī into a great fort and established his capital at Coudwār on the river Virūpā. This metropolis was then known as Vārāṇasī - Kaṭaka from which the present Cuttack derives its name.

It is said King Anaṅgabhīma II was directed in his dream to construct the

Temple of Jagannātha. As the one rebuilt by Yajāti Keśarī had almost lived its natural course of existence, its reconstruction had become imminently necessary. In a view to fulfill this supernatural behest, he visited Purī (1176 A.D.) and held a *durbār* of his subordinates, chiefs, ministers, nobles, and vassals. Before them he expressed his desire to rebuild the temple on a grand scale out of the enormous treasures he had collected as spoils of war. Everyone enthusiastically supported the king's noble resolution. *Paramahaṅsa* Vājpeyī who was then raised to the rank of *Mahāpātra* or Chief Minister was appointed as *Parichā* (supervisor) to oversee the rebuilding operations and to reorganize the *bhoga* (offerings) and the *sevaka* (servitor) systems. Soon a royal proclamation was issued and circulated throughout the kingdom and the tributary *rājās* (called *Bhūyān Puraṇa*) and chiefs (called *Danḍapāṭ Beherā*) were directed to render all possible aid to the king. Plans and estimates were prepared by a committee of distinguished ministers consisting of *Paramahaṅsa* Vājpeyī Mahāpātra, Dāmodar Purohit Mahāpātra, Nīḷakanṭha Rājaguru Mahāpātra, and Baḷabhadra Praharāj Mahāpātra; and submitted to the king. Besides ten lakh '*māḍhas* ' for the main Temple, two and half lakh '*māḍhas*' for ornamental works inside and for jewelleries and utensils for the deities including expenditure for the consecration of the temple were sanctioned. On the king's order required *'māḍhas'* (*sunā khaṇi* i.e., a big mine of gold as the *Mādaḷāpāñji* poetically puts it) were paid to *Paramahaṅsa* Vājpeyi who deposited the same in the temple *'bhanḍār'* (treasury). Offers also came from the king's daughter who handed over two lakh '*māḍhas* ' and treasurer Nīḷakanṭha Rājaguru Mahāpātra transferred precious stones worth about 40,000 *'māḍhas'* for this great undertaking.

First of all, the *Maḷayagiri manḍapa* (raised & open platform) was constructed at the northern corner of the temple compound and the deities were worshipped there till the new temple was ready. In the year 1178 A.D and on the 10th of *Phālguna* (on Thursday), the king himself laid the foundation stone in a very auspicious moment and from among the thirtysix designs, the one most beloved to Viṣṇu, known as '*Śrīvatsa khanḍaśāḷā*' was adopted in the construction of the main Temple. The king had designed to rebuild it to a height of one hundred cubits but as the construction was tardy, he grew very impatient and being overpowered by the human desire of having it completed and consecrated during his life time, he changed the original project and ordered its early completion when it reached a height of ninety cubits only measured with his own hands. The main Temple bears the best corroborative testimony to this fact (recorded in *Mādaḷāpāñji*) where we find its cubical portion, unlike temples of its kind, entirely wanting in upper *jangha* (thigh) portion and being surmounted just over the upper *bharanḍi* (see ch. III). We get to know on the authority of the *Mādaḷāpāñji* that in course of time, the following temples, *manḍapas*, and idols were constructed:

1) The main Temple with its *mukhaśāḷā* (the porch) and three side temples

attached to it in three directions for *pārśwa devatās* (attendant deities). It comprises of the *gambhirā* (*garbhagṛha* or *maṇikoṭha*) i.e., the innermost compartment (a 16 cubit square) and the circular wall of the temple (14. 5 cubits in thickness at the base).

2) One stone-roofed wooden *Jagamohana* (*Nāṭamandira*) constructed in the *jhiṅkiri* style attached to the *mukhaśālā* in its front.

3) Two *maṭharekhā* temples attached to the north- eastern side of the Temple.

4) One *maṭharekhā* temple for the Moon.

5) One *maṭharekhā* temple for the Sun.

6) One *maṭharekhā* temple for the Nṛsiṃhanāth to the west of the *Muktimaṇḍapa.*

7) One stone-roofed wooden *maṇḍapa* (platform) in front of Nṛsiṃhanāth's temple.

8) One *maṭharekhā* temple to the west of Nṛsiṃhanath for Nāṭyārambha Gaṇapati.

9) One stone-roofed wooden *āḷati maṇḍapa* to its west for *Paricha's bhoga nijog.*

10) One temple with *mukhaśāḷā* to its west for Bimaḷa Devī.

11) One temple with *mukhaśāḷā* to its north, in black stone for Saraswatī Devī.

12) One *maṭharekhā* temple to its north for Ratāi Devī.

13) One *Nalaṇa* temple with a *mukhaśāḷā* to its north for Mahālaksṃī Devī.

14) One temple to the east for Indra Dev.

15) In its front, one *Terehi maṇḍapa.*

16) One temple in its front facing west for Sanda Dev.

17) One *Devasnāna maṇḍapa* (an open raised platform for the annual bathing ceremony of the deities).

18) To the north of it, one temple built in imitation of Mt Kailāśa for Iśāṇeśwar.

19) One small temple for Uttarāi Devī.

20) At the foot of the famous and ancient *kalpabaṭa* (the sacred banyan tree), one *maṭharekhā* temple for Baṭeśwar Deva.

21) One small *Bhadrakāra* temple for Bāṭa Maṅgaḷa.

22) One temple for Baṭa Gaṇapati.

23) One *caurā* or circular stone platform around the sacred banyan tree.

24) One *maṭharekhā* temple for Ānaṇda Puruṣottam Dev.

25) One *maṭharekhā* temple for Kāmadeva Kṣetrapāḷa.

26) Four flights of stairs leading to the four outer gates of the temple viz., the *Vāyeeśi pāvachha*, the *Satāyeeśi pāvachha*, the *Ekoyeeśi pāvachha*, and the *Unāyeeśi pāvachha* (i.e. stairs consisting of 22, 27, 21, and 19 steps respectively).

27) Four *meghanāda prāciras* (the great enclosures or the compound walls).

28) Four outer gate-temples with eight small temples for *dvārapāḷas* viz., Jaya, Vijaya, Caṇḍa, Pracaṇḍa, Kumuda, Kumudīśa, Nanda, and Sunanda (deities designated as the eight door attendants).

29) Two lions for the *Siṃhadwāra* (Lions' gate, the eastern & the principal gate of the Temple)

30) One temple for Cāra Gaṇapati, on the Jagannātha trunk road near the Narendra tank.

The images of Varāha, Nṛsiṃha, and Trīvikrama (the three side deities) of the main Temple, Nāṭyārambha Gaṇapati, Cāra Gaṇapati, and the eight *dvārapāḷas* (attendants) were also constructed during that time.

The *Ratnasiṃhāsana* (throne studded with gems) within the *Maṇikoṭha* (inner-most compartment), the overhead canopy (*kanaka mundi*), its two supporting pillars, and the *cakās* (blocks of flat and round black granite stones on which the principal deities are seated) were all coated with sheets of gold (weighing 1,00,000 *māḍhas*). The front door of the *Maṇikoṭha*, popularly known as the *Kaḷārāṭa dwāra* (also known as *Kaḷāhāṭa* or *Kaḷāghāṭa dwāra*) was coated with silver (weighing 3,000 *māḍhas*). Various ornaments set with precious stones of all kinds (valued at 40,000 *māḍhas*) and utensils for the use of the deities (valued at 1,02,000 *māḍhas*) were made by expert gold and silversmiths. Last of all, 2000 *māḍhas* were spent in the year 1196 A.D. for consecrating the Temple and reseating the deities therein. A detailed catalogue of numerous gold ornaments and utensils of varied descriptions prepared at that time has been mentioned in the *Mādaḷāpāñji*. But though very interesting, it is too long to be reproduced here.

The construction of such a vast temple with a series of auxiliary structures and so many huge idols and statues with extremely fine carvings must have taken considerable time and involved the labour of thousands of artisans and sculptors besides an enormous expense. In fact, the completion of this gigantic work took eighteen years (circa 1178 to 1196 A.D.) and involved an expenditure of one million *māḍhas* then valued at five million rupees would be equivalent to crores of rupees according to the present valuation (1929A.D.) of a *toḷā* (11.66 gms aproximately) of gold at Rs. 20.00 per unit weight. The great Vājpeyī had to take the help of fifty mounted and one thousand foot soldiers in addition to his numerous civil assistants to control the labour force. This can give us an idea of the vast army of workmen recruited for the accomplishment of such a titanic undertaking.

The huge blocks of stone used in the construction of the temple were obtained from hills situated far off and conveyed to the site by land and water carriers. It is indeed an irony that the descendants of those wonderful architects, sculptors, and engineers are now unable even to imagine the nature of the conveyance used by their ancestors nearly thirty generations back in the transportation of such gigantic stones and in lifting them to such giddy and perilous heights. So great has been the depth of our degradation that not a few of us verily believe in the childish hypothesis that the temple was the work of divine hands (Viśwakarmā and his assistants) and never possible by mortals! The temple of Jagannātha,however, cannot match the famous temple of Liṅgarāj at Bhūbaneśwar in the beauty and workmanship of its structure. Liṅgarāj temple is a superb masterpiece of artistic skill and excellent lapidary ornamentation. It is covered all over with wonderful minute carvings and designs and each of which is a miracle in itself. On the other hand, the Temple of Jagannātha is more masculine and simpler in style; and the lack of detailed and extensive ornamentation over its massive body might have been due to its hasty construction.

The other minor temples alongwith their presiding deities were erected by subsequent kings and influential private individuals. Many of such temples still bear the names of their founders. The famous *kanaka manḍapa* (golden conopy) over the *Ratnasiṃhāsana* that added grace to the sanctum sanctorum and built by King Anaṅgabhīma Dev II was seen even after three hundred years by Gourāṅga Dev - a fact mentioned in his *Jagannāthāṣṭaka.*

The site of *Maḷayagiri manḍapa* where the gods were worshipped for eighteen years during the construction of the temples is now called *Koili vaikunṭha* where the remains of the abandoned images are buried after *navakaḷevara.* Here, the pilgrims offer *āṭikā* or *annadāna* (in the shape of money etc to be utilized for *bhoga*) and accepted by priests as the site is considered very sacred. *Koili vaikunṭha* is a corruption of *Kaḷi vaikunṭha,* by which name it was known then; and the *Maṇikoṭha,* on the other hand, is believed to be *Satya vaikunṭha.*

The *Ballabha* house where *ballabha bhoga* is prepared faces *Koili vaikunṭha* and is situated to the east in front of the Iśāneśwar temple. It is far from the series of *Roṣaghara* (kitchen houses) located at the southeast corner of the temple compound. When the deities were shifted to the *Maḷayagiri manḍapa,* in place of the traditional cooked food,*ballabha bhoga* (a preparation of popcorn with jaggery) was only offered to them. As a matter of foresight, the *Ballabha* house was built near the *Koili vaikunṭha,* detached and far off from the main kitchen.

Paramahaṅsa Vājpeyī Mahāpātra, the famous architect of the temple and the minister of Anaṅgabhīma Dev II, was a descendant of Bāsudev Rath- the unsung Cānakya of Kaliṅga who took up the cause of Coḍagaṅga *alias*

Cuḍaṅga Dev against Subarna Keśarī and was at last given the rank of *Bāhinīpati Mahāpātra* (the great Minister - Commandant of the army) in addition to his post of *Rājguru Mahāpātra.* The men of Ratha family of Viśwanāthpur Śāsan (a Brahmin settlement) near Sakṣīgopāḷa long served as *Rājguru Mahāpātras* under the kings and also as *parichās* of the temple. This family had a time-honoured traditional distinction of *Vājpeyī Sāmantas* because many of its illustrious members were said to have performed the Vedic rites of '*Vājpeya Yajña*' long before the creation of the other three *Rājguru Sāmanta* families. Amongst the privileged *śasans* of Purī, nearly all bear the names of the kings who established them. The fact that all of them except Viśwanāthpur *Śasan* are called by Vaiṣṇavite names unmistakably proves, they were established by Vaiṣṇavite kings of Orissa. Viśwanāth is one of the names of Lord Śiva and it is therefore very likely that it was founded by one of the *Keśarī* kings of Orissa who were *Saivites.*

It is customary for the royal house of Orissa that almost all its ranks and services are hereditary in character. We find, even today the descendants of the famous *Rath* family are associated with the ancient ranks of *Rājaguru* and *Parichā.* The hereditary nature of the royal services together with the *Vājpeyī* honour attributed to the family and the common title of *Rath*, induce the author to believe that the members of the present *Rath,Rājaguru*, and *Parichā* families are the descendants of *Paramahaṅsa* Vājpeyī and Puruṣottama Rath who consecrated the great Temple after its final reconstruction. Both appear to be related to each other as brothers or cousins. Vāsudev *Rath Rājaguru Bāhinīpati Mahāpātra* of Purī, in all probability, was the remote ancestor of these two dignitaries. For the services rendered, *Paramahaṅsa* Vājpeyī was amply rewarded with vast landed property by the kings. He also planned and founded many Brahmin settlements in response to the wishes of the then reigning kings of Orissa.

When we return to the architectural grandeur of the great Temple we are struck with dumb amazement and wonder. We cannot help noticing the obscene figures on its outer surface. These figures of amorous couples were no doubt introduced in imitation of the Bhūbaneśwar temple but they do not bear testimony to the spirit of Oriyā architecture. Many authors have argued for their preservation in temples as safety gears to counteract the evil effect of lightning but have quoted very weak authorities in support of their assertions. If such figures at all served any such useful purpose, it is a question of questions to be considered as to why they were not put up on the higher elevations of the main temple that were most likely to be struck by lightning. Again, it is hardly intelligible, why the figures were not located in positions beyond human sight and why at all they were exposed to the view even of the most casual visitor to the temple. The reality, however, speaks otherwise and discounts all such fanciful hypotheses: a good deal of the '*pāga*' stone of the main

temple was blown off by a recent strike of lightning. For ourselves, we can offer no fully satisfactory explanation for the presence of these strangely incongruous figures in the temple of Viṣṇu. It, however, seems plausible that they might have owed their origin to the corrupt fancy of some profligate kings[3]. It is probable that in Orissa these figures made their first appearance in the *Śaiva* temples at Bhūbaneśwar including Liṅgarāj temple. This gigantic edifice was built during the regime of a number of kings from Yajāti to Lalāteṅdu and it is not unlikely that these queer figures were appended to it by one of these kings whose peculiar taste probably found a strong ecclesiastical support because of the phallic nature of the shrine or the worship of Śiva. We are of the opinion that the great Oriyā architect *Paramahaṅsa* Vājpeyī (to whose monumental genius we owe the wonderful temple of Jagannātha) copied the obscene figures under discussion from the older temples at Bhūbaneśwar in a blind spirit of uncritical conservatism.

In between the temple of Jagannātha and the Guṇḍicā house and not far from Ardhāsanī (popularly known as *Māusīmā*), there flowed across the grand road a small rivulet called Saradhār which had its source at Aṭharanaḷā. When this watercourse was alive, six cars used to be constructed for the car festival. The deities were to be carried by three cars from the temple as far as Saradhār; and three other cars were required on the other side to complete the journey to the Guṇḍicā house. We do not know how the deities used to be carried across the river. In the regime of King Pratāp Bhānu Dev I (1266-1278 A.D.) steps were initiated but during king (*Kabi*) Narasiṃha Dev (1278-1307 A.D.), minister *Paṭṭajoṣi* Narendra Mahāpātra caused the flow of the rivulet to be arrested and since then only three cars are constructed for *Rathayātrā.* He reconstructed the Aṭharanaḷā bridge for proper discharge of surplus water with an additional culvert thus increasing its total number to nineteen (290ft long). But despite the structural changes, the long-established name of 'Aṭharanaḷā' still prevails. Saradhār is now known as Saradhārbāli or Saradhābāli. The Narendra tank (873ft x 834ft) not very far from Aṭharanaḷā was excavated by *Paṭṭajoṣi* Narendra Mahāpātra for the convenience of the pilgrims and celebration of the annual *candana yātrā* (festival) as well.

Kapiḷendra Dev, the first king of the solar dynasty (Sūryavaṃśī) reconstructed (1443A.D.) the present outer compound walls (*Meghanāda prācira*) of the

3. Mohanti (1933) adds: "... the artists who designed these... must have belonged to a race most morally depraved and vicious. ... the obscene figures represent the frailities of the world... unless a devotee rises superior to these, he cannot attain the absolute truth." Tripathi (1978) suggests "There were only two (neither more nor less!) deities... in the temple of Purusottama....had their origin in Viṣṇuism,... influenced by the contemporary Tantrism or Śaktism and the devotees conceived of them in a form in which both were united...symbolizing the eternal unity. ...seems to be the reason behind the existence of several so-called 'obscene' figures which... the present-day pilgrims mostly find 'shocking'. ... are completely in harmony with the deity inside." (P.58-59)

Jagannātha temple. His son Puruṣottam Dev constructed for the first time the present *Bhogamanḍapa* and the inner compound walls (*Kūrma* or *Kurumabeḍhā*, 1470 A.D.). Mukunda Dev, the last independent king of Orissa, reconstructed the present *Nāṭamandira* (1562 A.D.). It is a matter of no small consolation that these great edifices were completed before Orissa lost her independence forever. The only later addition of any interest is the present building of *Muktimanḍapa* reconstructed(1586 A.D.) by *Rāṇī* Gaura Devī, a Rajput princess and the queen of *Rājā* Mānsingh when the famous general of Akbar - the Great was on deputation to Orissa not long after the death of its last independent king. During the time of Rāmacandra Dev I, the first king of the present *Bhoi* lineage of Lunar descent, the *dadhinauti* and the *nīḷacakra* (the crowning discus on the top of the temple) uprooted by Kaḷāpāhāra were reconstructed and placed in their respective positions; and white washing of the temples was done under the supervision of one Dāmodar Campati Ray (in 1591 A.D.).

During the reign of King Narasiṃha Dev, the main temple and the porch were thoroughly repaired and some minor reconstructions were effected by his *dewān* Banamaḷī Mahāpātra and his assistant Nīḷamani Paṭṭanāyaka (in 1634 A.D.). Few years after the royal residence (known at present as *Puruṇā nahara*) at Bāli Sāhi was reconstructed, the king was unfortunately seized and beheaded (1646 A.D.) by Fateh Khān, a subordinate of Subedar Maṭ Maṭi Khān.

The *Nīḷacakra* was blown off the summit of the Temple by a heavy cyclonic storm in 1694 A.D. during the reign of King Divyasiṃha Dev I. It was thus newly built and securely placed in 1703 A.D. King Harekṛṣṇa Dev, the eighth in descent from Rāmacandra Dev repaired the main Temple and constructed the flight of steps from the kitchen to the *Jagamohana* under the supervision of Dharmu Haricandana and Bhagabān Bhramarbar (1716 A.D.). Beṇu Bhramarabar Rāi, *dewān* of King Rāmacandra Dev II built the *Nāṭamandira* of the Gunḍicā temple (1728 A.D) for which four stone pillars were preserved by King Mukunda Dev.

King Bīrakiśore Dev I (1739 -1793 A.D) constructed the *Caṅgaḍā* house, the *Khaṭaśeja* house, and the *Śayana* house. His queen once more repaired the main Temple. His grandmother, the queen of Gopīnāth Dev built the *kanaka manḍapa (munḍi)* over the *Ratnasiṃhāsana* and the *Doḷamanḍapa* outside the temple compound. One *Aṣṭagrasī* Sanyāsī Goswāmī reconstructed the northern gate-temple. Under the joint supervision of Śrīdhar Paṭṭanāyaka and Daman Singh, the construction of the present *manḍapa* near the sacred banyan tree (the venerable *Kaḷpabaṭa*) was completed and the idol of Bāḷamukunda (Kṛṣṇa as a child) was consecrated. They also paved stones in the inner compound. A certain *Mahārājā* of Burdwān constructed the flight of stairs all round the 'Mārkanḍa' Tank. Bīrakiśore Dev had hardly ruled for twelve years when the temple passed into the hands of

the Marāṭhā Governors (1751 A.D.) under circumstances briefly narrated elsewhere.

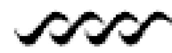
During Marāṭhā supremacy, the management of the Temple for a long period was entrusted to one Bābā Brahmacārī Goswāmī, the spiritual preceptor of the Marāṭhās in Orissa. Goswāmījī has left behind him a record of good works done in connection with the temple. He had the idols of the present Mahālakṣmī Devī and the *Śayan Ṭhākura*[4] moulded in gold and that of *Amāvāsyā Nārāyaṇa Ṭhākura* in silver and made many valuable gold ornaments studded with precious stones for the deities. It may be suggested that these were possible as a result of the accumulated cash offerings (called *pinḍikā*) made to the gods and these certainly form a considerable portion of the vast treasures now lying in sepulchral deposit in the dark impenetrable depths of the temple *bhanḍār*. The great Goswāmī constructed the present flight of stairs of Narendra and Indradyumna tanks. He also repaired the temple and reconstructed the wall behind the *Ratnasiṃhāsana*. But it is a matter of regret that while carrying on these works, the inscription-bearing stones fixed behind the *Ratnasiṃhāsana* by *Paramahaṅsa* Vājpeyī were carelessly removed. It needs to be mentioned that from three bas-relief figures which were identified as King Bīrakiśore Dev I, his queen, and his mother because of the underneath Oriyā inscription, it appears that the present *Ratnasiṃhāsana* was probably damaged by repeated Muslim aggressions and hence reconstructed by Goswāmījī.

The statues of *Ādi* Śaṅkarācārya and Padmapādācārya who saved *Sanātana dharma* or the traditional Hindu religion (which is ever existent) from the iconoclastic and demoralising influence of popular Buddhism were placed over the sacred *Ratnasiṃhāsana*. During its reconstruction, these statues were removed and kept in the *Beharaṇa* house but ultimately restored to their former positions. Ironically, the *Rāmānuji* Vaiṣṇavas who were the followers of Rāmānuja and the opponents of *Ādi* Śaṅkarācārya permanently removed them from their positions and in the process these were also broken. These two and the Bhairav statue positioned earlier at the *Kaḷārata* (also called *Kaḷāhāṭa*) *dwāra* were put behind the temple of the Sun-God by the side of *Muktimanḍapa*[5]. Brahmācarī

4. *Śayana Ṭhakura* is a small metal image of the composite form of Lakṣmī (left half) and Nārāyaṇa (right half) and not very different from the concept of *Ardhanārīśwara* (viz., Pārvatī & Maheśwara). This *Ardha Lakṣmī-Nārāyaṇa mūrti* has eight hands. In addition to *saṅkha, cakra, gadā,* and *padma* being held by Nārāyaṇa, Lakṣmī has in Her hands,manuscript,lotus,mirror,and a potful of gems. In the *Śīlparatna*, this *ekibhūtaṃ vapuḥ* of the Lord has been espoused. Behera (1996) views, "The ritualistic use of this form in the Puruṣottama Jagannātha temple is significant in the context of Vaiṣṇavism. It emphasizes the concept of the *Advaita Brahma* (monistic tradition) of the *Vedānta* and identifies Jagannātha with the Supreme *Brahma*.... Lakṣmī and Lakṣmīkānta are both one and the same."

5. Upon protest, the Marāṭhā supremo at Nagpur warned the most active Laxman Goswāmī of the Vaiṣṇava sect at Purī not to introduce anything new in the Temple and advised to pay regard to the old practices (Letter No.245, a document preserved in the Orissa State Archives).

Goswāmī was instrumental in procuring vast quantities of stones from the ruins of the famous Koṇārk temple; and utilising the same, the top of the outer compound walls of the Jagannātha temple was constructed. His last memorable work was the setting up of the beautiful *Aruṇastambha* (column dedicated to Aruṇa, the charioteer of the Sun-God) in front of the Lions' gate. This pillar, cut out of a huge block of chlorite stone and measuring thirtyfour feet in height, was also brought from Koṇārk (1800 A.D.). It is a masterpiece of art that bears eloquent testimony to the impeccable history of ancient Oriyā sculpture.



III

Architecture and Sculptures of the Temple

On the style and character of Orissan School of temple architecture and sculpture, voluminous works have been edited by some authors best acquainted with the styles of art in different countries. In view of my limited field of endeavour being confined only to the Temple of Jagannātha, I would try to make a brief presentation over some salient features of this monument.

In India, the province of Orissa is believed to be the home to Indo-Aryan school of temple architecture and sculpture. But here, out of the wonderful, constructive, and decorative skills of her artisans, a unique style evolved and no traces of imitation of any foreign style whatsoever is found in its numerous temples best known for their purity of original architectural and sculptural designs. In very few places in our country, structures in such great profusion and so immaculately executed are to be met with as here. It was indeed from Orissa that the arts were imitated by people of Bundelkhaṇḍ, Mālwā, Rājputānā, and Mahārāṣtra. Edifices, more or less in number, similar to the ones found in Orissa were erected in these regions long after the styles had reached their meridian at home. The very nature of the existing series of temples at Bhūbaneśwar fairly suggests that the art did not have its virtual beginning since the 5^{th} Century A.D but had a remote origin and exhibited only increasing excellence by stages which somehow terminated with the temple of the Sun-God at Koṇārk in the 13^{th} century A.D. Although some massive edifices that still strike beholders with astonishment were erected afterwards, such endeavours were nearly extinct towards the close of the 16^{th} century A.D when political life of the country was threatened.

Significance of '*Utkaḷa deśa*' (*utkarṣa kaḷā yasya sah utkaḷa*) as a country of superior workmanship or of finest arts was well known long before the 5^{th} century A.D thanks to allusions made in ancient Sanskrit works. An earnest thinker thus needs to delve deeper into a considerable period of antiquity in order to trace out the original source and growth of art in this part of the country (Orissa). The

epithet '*Utkaḷa deśa*' was reserved for a part of Kaḷiṅga for its then existing specimens of cultivated art. But alas! Those have long been knocked down and finally swept away by the havoc wrought by the tides of time, silently ever at work through its changeful and destructive powers.

When the awkward and rudely disproportionate sacred *dārubrahma* idols (in busts only and constructed under peculiar circumstances by a carpenter) installed in Purī Temple are taken into consideration, one is led to presume that the beginning of the temple architecture and sculpture in its primary stages must have been similarly mis-shaped. But as the architecture gradually developed on decent outline and became elegant, there emerged maturity in design and execution of which the temples at Bhūbaneśwar are extant specimens. If 10^{th} century B.C. is accepted as the foundation of the shrine of Lord Jagannātha (as discussed before), then the first historic information on temples in Orissa is to be associated with it. Whereas the sacred *dārubrahma* idols have been faithfully imitated and exactly maintained in facsimile construction in successive idols to the present day, the shape and style of temple construction however changed. Whether the people of Utkal had really created their own style of art or they had imbibed them from their Indo-Aryan ancestors once settled in the basin of the Ganges and the Yamunā may be open to debate. But as we take into consideration the beginning of temple worship (to which gradually all sorts of individual home worship were transferred), we have no hesitation to say that by the time temples were first erected, worship therein began to gain ground. Utkal was completely colonised then and the descendants of the colonialists were inclined to create their own independent styles. Unfortunately, the styles of which we are talking about do not exist in the aforesaid basin on account of destruction of temples by the Mahommedan invaders. What came up later might have been either of independent origin or borrowed from the styles in vogue in Utkal like those aforesaid regions where specimens in imitation of its styles are still in existence.

Architecture of temples generally fall into two categories: *Ratha deuḷas* and *Vimāna deuḷas* (Sanskrit, *devāḷaya* - the dwelling place of the deities) depending upon the outline of their get -up or structure in imitation of either of a *ratha* (chariot) or *vimāna* respectively. It may be stated that these wooden carriers were, in the remote past, used by the kings and noblemen but later seen all over for carrying idols in procession on festive occasions. The *Ratha deuḷa* is also known as *Rekhā deuḷa* [1] or a linear temple because the imposing tower is drawn up in *rekhās* (lines) over the perpendicular cube on the plinth according to a definite outline. Oṅ the other hand, the *Vimāna deuḷa* also known as a *Piḍha deuḷa* (a pyramidal temple) is a

1. Mohanti (1933) states, "the temples of Orissa are mostly *Rekhā deulas* while those of northern India are mainly *Piḍha deulas*. Generally speaking, the height of the temple is 2 ½ times of the base (e.g., height of Puri Temple is 209ft & its length is 80 ft)."

tower over its perpendicular cube on the plinth and has a conical shape with its triangular sides meeting at a point like the *piḍha* (thatched roof) of a house commonly found in Orissa. Although the ground plan of either of them is a square, in the former, the outside pilasters are developed with prolonged intervening recesses all along to add grace to the design and for the play of light and shade that facilitate in the appearance of a structure like a *ratha.* And the latter retains its square shape from the plinth till surmounted by a conical top with the exception that its outward pilasters attached to its cubical portion have outward and inward courses all along from the plinth and thus resembles a *vimāna.* It is interesting to note that although both have square forms neither has any pilaster inside.

As it appears from the abstract of land settlements of *Puruṣottama kṣetra* effected by King Anaṇgabhīma Dev II, the rectangular piece of land of the Jagannātha Temple bounded by four lines of massive walls known as *Meghanāda prācira* (665ft x 640ft) on four directions covers an area of two *bāṭis* (ten acres). These walls of laterite stones with serrate - battlements on the top are not of uniform height but their thickness has been maintained althrough. The small temple at the south western corner of the walls dedicated to Durgā and Mādhava founded by King Puruṣottama Dev, on the eve of his departure on his second war campaign against the king of Kāñcipuram (Conjivaram) in the south, still perpetuates his name. In the middle of these outer walls, there exist four decent *vimāna* temples of almost equal size and shape over each of the four gate-ways (*gumuṭas*). With the conical top composed of two series of cornices, these *vimāna* temples have on both directions side projections of smaller temples in the middle (over each series) with prominent features. It may be stated that the eastern, northern, western, and southern gates are known as *Siṃhadwāra* (the Lion Gate), *Hastīdwāra* (the Elephant gate), *Byāghradwāra* (the Tiger gate), and *Aśwadwāra* (the Horse gate) respectively.

A huge monolithic chlorite (*muguni*) column popularly known as *Aruṇastambha,* cut in polygonal shape into sixteen equal sides gracefully faces the principal eastern gate. It is set over a square pedestal on a little raised plinth with nicely carved flowers and figures of elephants etc. and rears its square capital to a height of thirtyfour feet seated over by *Aruṇa* (the charioteer of Sun-God). This column was brought from the eastern gate of Koṇārk temple (in 1800 A.D.) and at once astounds the beholder with its gigantic size and decent equiangular cut.

On the eastern gateway pilasters, huge blocks of stones (known as *pāṭa*) are laid in horizontal positions one over the other. Ten bas-relief figures representing *daśābatāra* (ten incarnations) of Viṣṇu have been incised on one. Below the lowest cornice (*piḍha*), a prominent figure of Lakṣmī seated over a lotus has been engraved in the midst of ten female attendants. Higher up and just below the aforesaid horizontal stone, two *dwārapāḷa* (door attendant) deities - Jaya and Vijaya - each holding in his four arms conch shell, discus, and a club have been sculpted over the

gate pilasters on both sides. At extremes, on both sides of this gate temple, two huge statues of lions have been placed. Hence, its name is *Siṃhadwāra*. On similar horizontal stones over the pilasters of the other three gate temples, figures of *navagraha* (nine planets) have been incised such as on the front and rear side of the northern *Hastīdwāra*, on the front of the southern *Aśwadwāra*, and on the rearside of the western *Byāghradwāra*. But there is a prominent statue of Gaṇeśa laid in a little niche over such figures on the western gate.

The ascending flight of steps from the eastern Lion gate leading to the abutting inner compound is known as *Vāyeeśi pāvachha* as it consisted of twentytwo steps earlier. But after renovations, the steps were reduced to eighteen. On its both sides, there are two walls almost to the height of the terraced level of *Ānandabazār* to the right and the series of kitchen houses to the left. On the whole, the steps are quite spacious and tidy to admit easy and comfortable passage even during heavy rush of pilgrims. Such is the mode of construction of the flight of steps from the north and south outer gateways although with different number of steps. The one to the west is not as spacious and tidy as the rest three.

The inner quadrangle known as *Kūrmabedhā* is spacious (420ft x 315ft) and is paved throughout with slabs of stone and bounded by four lines of massive walls. These walls decked with legged square stones on the top have along with them pyramidal houses running all around inside. Some such houses are meant for deities, storehouses, and some are yet unoccupied. There are five gateways or *gumuṭas*, four with small stone roofed edifices corresponding to the four inner gateways; and the one to the north-east replaced by an arch (built in 1896 A.D.) leading to *Snānavedī* and *Ānandabazār* where *mahāprasād* is available. There is, in addition, a covered gangway or path (meant exclusively for *suārs* & *mahāsuārs*) for carrying *bhoga*. It penetrates through the wall to the kitchen houses (*Roṣaghara*) in the outer compound towards the southeast. Except the small temple of Viśwanāth at the foot of the eastern flight of steps and the cave temple of Iśāneśwar at the top of the northern flight of steps and a few insignificant ones lying scattered here and there, the series of temples for minor deities and the whole range of the Jagannātha temple are situated within the precincts of the inner compound walls.

The little propylaeum over the inner eastern access having a ceiling of flat stone roof exhibits on its outer wall richly ornamented carvings and sculptures. The clearly cut figures of Brahmā, Śiva, Jaya, and Vijaya stand prominently on the wall above the pedestal besides numerous other gods of the Hindu pantheon, such as Rāma and Kṛṣṇa etc. The twisted chain-mails in scrolls, uniform throughout in breadth, have been so skillfully inscribed that from a little way off, they are mistaken as a painting rich in red. The frieze of geese below the lowest cornice seems all faithful to nature except the colour. The general impact on the beholder is thus highly endearing.

The whole range of the Jagannātha temple, which includes: (1) the *Garvagṛha* (main temple,*Ratha*), (2) the *Mukhaśāḷā / Mohana* (porch, *Vimāna*),(3) the *Nāṭamandira* (dancing hall), and (4) the *Bhogamaṇḍapa* (temple of offerings)were constructed by different artisans under the supervision of different architects-in-chief at intervals between the 12th and 16th century A.D. The extraordinary feature one would mark is that in each of the edifices, gigantic blocks of stones have been utilized. It is a question of questions as to how and by what mode of conveyance, by land or water, those were brought from distant mountainous regions. It may be added, no such terrain is to be seen within a distance of twentyfive miles from the monument. In the absence of any suggesting authority, two means of conveyance are conjectured: (1) Either the Oriya people had invented for the purpose some sort of machinery to carry away the stones from the quarries; or (2) Big iron wheeled carriages drawn by trained elephants were in use to carry them. The second possibility appears to be closer to reality. Hiuen Tsiāng wrote that particularly in this part of our country, elephants were used in drawing carts. Even now elephants are often engaged in pushing the chariots during *Rathayātrā* when pilgrims face difficulties in the swampy part of the trunk road *en route* Gundicā temple.

It is said that to carry up huge blocks of stones, statues, and other materials for construction of the main temple and the porch, the *cāra* (ramp of bamboo & wood planks etc) had its origin at Gaṇeśa Buruja. It is the junction of the trunk road and the street leading to the Narendra tank which is about half - a -mile from the Temple to the north- east; and there is a small temple here dedicated to Gaṇeśa known yet as *Cāra* Gaṇapati. The ramp thus had only a nominal slope rising up from the ground for easy conveyance of materials. In spite of that, it is beyond our imagination as to how those blocks were put at such dizzy heights. Some say, simultaneously with the construction of the temples, the surrounding areas were filled with sand and supported on all sides by a network of timbers and planks. Considering the position of the *Maḷayagiri maṇḍapa*, the temporary retreat of the idols on the present site at *Koili vaikuṇṭha*, it is difficult to comprehend the position of artificial sand fills (if any) that gradually came up all around to enable the artisans to work with convenience and comfort. Be that as it may, the artisans seemed to have worked out solutions for these difficulties with wonderful skills which we are now unable to visualize.

The aforesaid range of temples has a continuous stone plinth of unequal height (5 - 6 ft) above the terraced court, which is about fourteen feet high above the ordinary level of the surrounding street of the town. Its breadth varies according to the proportion of the diametrical size of the temples and its total length is 300 feet. Over the same plinth there are four small temples, two *maṇḍapas* on both sides of the porch and the *Nāṭamandira* where it is consequently of greater breadth having projection too to serve as verandahs. The four temples are viz., the *Beharaṇa*

temple on the southern side of the porch to the right meant for the numerous metal idols; the *Bhaṇḍāra* temple (warehouse of gems, jewellery, & costly robes) situated at the northern side of the porch in the middle having the entrance from the porch only; the Nārāyaṇa temple by the side of the northern entrance of the *Nāṭamandira* (now used as the temple police office); and the other in front of the Nārāyaṇa temple over the same entrance. Out of the two *maṇḍapas*, one is situated before the *Beharaṇa* temple and the other behind the Nārāyaṇa temple. By the side of the plinth to the south of the *Nāṭamandira* and not over it, stands the only temple dedicated to Indrāṇī.

An artisan (*pathuriā*) having knowledge in temple architecture, enlightened the author that there are sixtyfour types of such structures as per the Orissa school of temple architecture. But of these only thirtysix specimens exclusively meant for the dwelling of Viṣṇu are mentioned in the *Mādaḷāpāñji. Śrīvatsa khāṇḍaśāḷā* which forms a part of these specimens was adopted for the construction of the main temple or the '*Ratha*' (see the sketch). It is in reality a *Pañca ratha deuḷa* (temple). The near circular structure of the temple commencing from the square plinth has five outward pilasters on each of its four directions. They resemble side projections of five cars (*rathas*) as if fused with the whole structure of the temple. These five pilasters are described as the *Rāhā pāga* (main pilaster in the middle), the *Anartha pāgas* (two adjoining pilasters on both sides of the main one), and the *Koṇaka pāgas* (two corner pilasters). The whole structure of the temple, developed with prolongation of all the aforesaid pilasters and the surmounted uppermost parts including the finial, presents a grand beauteous *Pañca ratha* or a five-fold car. Like all temples it has nine principal components, laid upwards in succession, such as (i) *Mūḷapatana* - the underground foundation, (ii) *Pīṭha* - the plinth, (iii) *Bāḍa* - the perpendicular cube or walls, (iv) *Rekhā* or *Ratha* - the curvilinear tower, (v) *Beki* - the neck, (vi) *Āmaḷaka śilā* or *Aḷaśira* - the head stone, (vii) *Pagree* or *khapuri* – the cap stone, (viii) *Kaḷasa* or *Dadhinauti* - the pitcher or the finial stone, and (ix) *Cakra* - the discus.

The *Mādaḷāpāñjī* is silent on the depth of the *Mūḷapatana*. But a tradition goes to say that from a depth of thirty cubits (measured by the hand of King Anaṅgabhīma Dev), it was laid on and raised upto the ground level thus making its height one hundred and twenty cubits from the starting point of its underground foundation to the finial stone. In proportion to the lofty tower with massive solid walls and pilasters, the foundation must have been laid down to a good depth with best materials and its side walls constructed on a prodigious magnitude to bear and uphold the grand structure. The plinth already described has little conspicuous features and is bereft of any special architectural developments to hold attention. Its get up, to all appearance, seems to be a coated stone belt only around the foot and quite unworthy of such a great Temple.

Over the aforesaid plinth, the *bāḍa* or the perpendicular cube begins from its pedestal section with *pāgas* or pilasters decked with numerous elegant mouldings. In the development of its architectural details only four successive parts such as *jangha, bharanḍi, bandhana,* and upper *bharanḍi* standout and together they rise perpendicularly to a height of about thirty cubits. But unlike the cubes of other temples, it lacks architectural features on its upper *jangha* over the upper *bharanḍi* that has in fact diluted the classic beauty of the cubical portion of this temple in the eyes of a keen observer despite of the best arrangement of skillful overlaying.

The deficiency of upper *jangha* is very striking and reflects its ill arrangement by the architects. But it fully corroborates a statement recorded in the *Mādalāpāñji* to the effect that the height of the main temple was in due course reduced to hasten its completion during the life time of King Anaṅgabhīma Dev II. It seems, when its upper *bharanḍi* course of construction was in progress, instruction to modify the original project reached the architect-in-chief who was compelled to dispense with its upper *jangha* course and surmounted the tower over the upper *bharanḍi.* It is apt to mention here that for this royal intervention, the ultimate beauty of the Temple of Jagannātha was sacrificed on the altar of haste for all time to come.

The *Rekhā* or *Ratha* portion of the temple known as the curvilinear tower is surmounted over the perpendicular cube and rises aloft to the neck passing through a different mode of construction with dressed stones projecting all around in equal proportion beyond the upper *bharanḍi.* It gradually swells till it reaches its middle course where its circumference is greater than its starting point. From the middle course, the superstructure has a gradual inward slope all around till it finishes shoulder course in curvilinear formation and reaches the neck point. All the sixteen *pāgas* or pilasters from the plinth to the neck are prominently developed and separated by intervening recesses. The neck where the massive circular walls with the aforesaid pilasters in gradual contraction meet, leave no more opening within. The neck portion (*beki*) of the temple is a solid overlaying of blocks of stones exactly forming a circular neck - mould, which has niches all around to hold ornamental statues and figures.

In order to press down the whole wonderful structure, the *āmaḷaka* (*aḷaśira* or head-stone), the *pagree-khapuri* (cap stone), and above all the *kaḷasa/dadhinauti* (jug stone) are laid upwards in successive stages over the layers of neck mouldings. All these structures are fastened by the great shaft of the discus (*cakra*) planted over the beauteous jug stone. Thus, the great tower abruptly rises to a height of 214ft into the sky from the average level of the surrounding street or about 200ft from the terraced court; and the curvilinear outline of its superstructure resembles a *haritaki* (*Terminalia chebula*) partly sunk at one end.

Over the trunk of the tower such as – (1) at the two wing points just below its

upward sloping structure; (2) lower down at the two rib points where the outward projection of the tower is quite perceptible; and (3) almost equally at two points on the back - six clean-cut lions of unequal size are laid in projecting order from the structural middle pilasters (*rāhā pāgas*) over six projecting elephants. Two of these elephants (south & west)seize by their trunks a giant each whose face is only noticeable. A lion over an elephant in the same posture is seen too, higher up on the breast point of the tower facing due east. But the remarkable thing noticed is that the lion and elephant combination positioned here is bigger than any other animal figure and seen truthful to nature in elegance of moulding.

To all appearance, the upward sloping structure of the tower has its last contraction meeting as a roof just below its neck which is structurally over the top ends of all its pilasters and where its shoulder course is done with. But it seems to have been actually roofed in its trunk at two more places and at each place, two flags of huge stones have been horizontally laid across the opening below like cross beams, one over the other (see the sketch). Again the huge stones that hold the projecting structural wall against the power of gravity by their bracket ends have been transformed into figures of projecting lions and elephants. Figures facing due east which are in the middle of the upward sloping structure must have been moulded over the bracket end of another cross beam with a bracket more within to hold the structure on the west at its opening below. No bracket with similar mouldings was contemplated at its western end to avoid a repetition of such a third moulding over there. And the cross beam to the north and south over this must have similar inside brackets to hold the structure at the opening without having unnecessary outward bracket ends.

The recess (*beki*, the neck) between the *āmaḷaka* or head-stone and the shoulder has so tastefully been decked with four huge statues of lions of titanic size in sitting posture over the top end of the four *rāhā pāgas* (middle pilasters) and with four similar statues of Garuḍa in folded posture over the top end of the four *koṇaka pāgas* (corner pilasters) proportionately in all directions that it appears as if the huge head-stone is borne by them over their heads. The massive block of circular *āmaḷaka* has been skillfully dented to resemble an *āmlā* fruit (*Emblica officinalis*) but flattened at the base and top to be placed over the neck to bear load of the cap-stone. The cap-stone has been so uniformly laid with a nominal slope all around that its white plaster resembles a muslin *pagree*. The *dadhinauti* (jug stone) - artistically carved with mango leaves stretching down from its mouth - is the finial laid over the cap-stone. On *dadhinauti*, the great *cakra* (discus) is planted. The discus has nine blades all around; and eight radii (spokes) joined to its hollow center. It has been moulded in *aṣṭadhātu* (eight metals) of which copper and steel form the most parts.

In the three two-storeyed *piḍha* temples coeval in construction with the main

temple and dedicated to *pārśva devatās* (attendant deities), three huge statues of Varāha (south), Nṛsiṃha (west), and *Vāmana* (north) respectively have been installed within three niches in the middle pilasters (*rāhā pāgas*)on the body of the perpendicular cube of the main temple. Numerous figures of rampant lions over elephants, known by their three different postures as *Ullāḷa Gajabirājasiṃha, Ullāḷa Gajasiṃha*, and *Chidaūtha Gajasiṃha* are laid in the recesses between pilasters over the cube. It is not wanting in bas -relief statuette of deities but they are few in number. Over the body of the main tower up above the perpendicular cube on all directions, numerous mouldings of Hindu pantheons are noticed but whether they are stone-cut bas-relief figures plastered with lime or pure lime mouldings is a question. These figures seem to have no special sculptural features to attract notice[2].

The main temple has only one gateway to the east facing the porch known as *Kaḷārata dwāra*. The *Ratnasiṃhāsana* inside, constructed with black granite, is an open pulpit on which the sacred idols are enthroned. Its front portion resembles a *pañca* (five-fold) *vimāna* manifesting the five stages of architectural development. Its height is nearly five feet and stands facing due east by the side of the western wall of the temple, leaving an intervening gloomy passage to admit pilgrims to move around the deities in reverence. King Bīrakiśore Dev I (1739 -1793 A.D.) effected its last construction when the temple passed into the hands of the Marāṭhās (1751 A.D.). On its *bharaṇḍi* portion, a brief inscription below three statues identifies king Bīrakiśore Dev I, his queen, and his mother or grandmother.

The *śāḷā* (building) erected in contiguous order just on the *mukha* (face) of the main temple (*Ratha*) is the edifice generally known as *mukhaśāḷā* or the *mohana* (porch)[3]. It is a pyramidal temple (*piḍha deuḷa*, see the sketch) in its style of construction quite in departure from the style of the linear main temple (*rekhā deuḷa*). It also stands on the same common plinth and is coeval in construction with the main temple. The porch has on each side five pilasters like the main temple but not so prominently developed. Along with its cubical perpendicular walls from the base, it shows side projections of five *vimānas* fused with the whole structure of the

2. Majumdār (1967) has stated, "the temple of Jagannath though more famous, is less beautiful." He perhaps meant it for the main (*Ratha*) temple but Chauley (1996) views otherwise. When the thick lime plasters (at some places even close to one meter) were removed in 1970s, the age-old belief that this temple is "devoid of carvings" was proved baseless. Not only iconographic representations connected with Vaiṣṇavism but other deities were found as well. Chauley adds, on the lower part of the temple but over the horizontal panels (*vasanta*) that run parallel to the base around the temple, mythological stories related to Kṛṣṇa *Līḷa* are intricately executed. After complete deplastering, twenty-four miniature *śikharas* (*aṅgaśikharas*) were visible attesting to the distinctive features of Orissan *Rekhādeuḷa*. The most notable finding of the Archeological Survey Of India (entrusted with the protection & preservation of the shrine) team was the twentyfour distinct images of Viṣṇu standing on lotus with knee-length *aṅgavastram, yajñopavīta*, and usual ornaments (including *mukuṭa*- the headgear) on the body of the main temple but differing primarily upon the arrangement of *śaṅkha* (conch), *cakra* (discus), *gadā* (mace), and *padma* (lotus) in His four hands.

temple. The pilastered walls have also passed through full five stages of its upward construction in elements of architectural details and like the main temple are not wanting in the last stage of upper *jangha.* But the porch has a conical tower distinct from the curvilinear one of the main temple. It commences its overloading from the top end of its perpendicular walls. It has two series of *piḍhās* (cornices). The lower series being seven in number are laid over one another on a little raised base; and the lowest one projects beyond the upper *jangha.* In the outward aspect, these cornices are in the shape of sloping stairs decked with lines of elevated leaflets known as *kāṅguḷas* in the extreme margin and have synchronized inward projections. They run one over the other all around the temple and appear as inverted stairs. On the lower series of cornices, a little raised recess base has been constructed and ornamented with statues projecting a little beyond. The second or upper series of six cornices are similarly laid over with similar inward projections. These are supported by four corbelled arches on four grand pillars (inside the temple) till the uppermost cornices from all directions reach, in regular contraction, a point where the edifice is provided with a ceiling of a small square flat stone noticeable only from inside. Indeed, it is very impressive to see that the outward pilasters from the base are also proportionately developed over both the series of cornices of its conical tower.

Here, the upward construction over the flat roof-stones has undergone two more stages different from those noticed in the main temple. Its neck moulding over the stone roof is not prominent like the main temple over which layers of stone forming *Śrī* and *Śrīkhapuri* (in flat & round shapes) have been laid in succession. As usual, the *āmaḷaka* (head-stone), *khapuri* (cap-stone), and *kaḷasa* (jug- stone or the finial) have been set to form the conical top over which the *cakra* (discus) has been planted. In this temple, both series of cornices have been dexterously laid with elevations in the middle and depressions on both sides. On each direction, the side projections of two such smaller conical temples one over the other show distinctly their *āmaḷaka* and *kaḷasa* surmounted by statues of lions. They add to the elegance and beauty of

Surprisingly, all these images (see Appendix-B) are not seen together in any single edifice in our country although the iconographic details (pertaining to these forms of Viṣṇu) are mentioned in various texts like the *Rūpamaṇḍana Śilparatna,* the *Devatāmūrti-Prakaraṇa,* and the *Padmapurāṇa.*

3. Whereas Mohanti (1933) and others prefer to address *Mukhaśaḷa(Mohana)* as *Jagamohana* (the audience chamber for the pilgrims), Col. Phipps (1822) had identified the multi-pillared temple having the *Garuḍastambha* and where *devadāsīs* dance as *Jagamohana* (Utkala Prasanga, vol. 56/12, p.78, July 2000, Govt. of Orissa). That *Nāṭamandira* (*maṇḍapa*) is also called *Jagamohana* is known from another source (Utkala Prasanga, vol.60/11, p.59, June 2004). The place where visitors seat in the Mahālaxmi temple (marble floored) while making circumambulation (*parikramā*) in the temple premises has been called as *Jagamohana* by Mohapatra (1982) and this is contiguous to the *Mukhaśāḷā* (*Mohana*) of the concerned temple.

the temple and make it appear as a three-fold structure. Neither on the body of its sidewalls nor over the series of cornices on the top are any carvings or sculptural works noticed except on the lower *jangha* and *vimāna* on both *bharandis* of the cube. In sixteen small niches spread all over its upper *bharaṇḍi*, erotic statues of most debauched couples quite within the sight of a passer-by are laid.

The porch has four gateways on four cardinal directions and all of which are horizontally arched. The one leading due south looking over the *Muktimanḍapa* is known as *Beharaṇa dwāra*. It has two sets of steps to the court separated by a landing step. Over two of its side pilasters, two high relief figures of Maheśvara to the right and Brahmā to the left in folded palms and in graceful pose indicating their devotion to Viṣṇu are installed. Over one of its horizontal arch stones, low relief figures of *navagrahas* and higher up in a little niche a statuette of Varāha with two female attendants are seen. The second gateway known as Jaya-Vijaya *dwāra* (door), so named after its *dwārapāḷa* deities standing on sentry duties, leads to the adjoining *Nāṭamandira* or *Jagamohana* to the east. The arched portion of the third gateway to the north is integrated to make the abutting *bhanḍār* (storehouse) more spacious; and the last being the only door of the *garvagṛha* from where the porch conjointly originates from the main temple.

The north-eastern corner of the porch has been transformed into a small double storeyed structure of which one ground floor room is used as the depository of the ordinary robes and the other, of flowers and garlands required everyday for the dressing and adornment of the deities. On both sides of the northern gateway to the *bhanḍār*, there are two separate compartments. The ground floor to the east is used as the storehouse of beddings. In the double storeyed one, sandal paste and utensils of daily use are kept in its ground floor. Its upper storey is the seat of the metal idol of Lokanāth Dev (the dreadful & unpardoning Śaṅkar of the locality) who not only guards the *bhanḍār* of rare gems, jewellery, and robes of immense value but watches over the conduct of the *sevakas* performing rituals of the Lord.

The *Mukhaśāḷā* along with two conical projections on each side within its spire resembles a *vimāna*. But the term *vimāna* has erroneously been applied to the main temple by a majority of authors although a very few accepted its resemblance to a *ratha*. The former say a *vimāna* is a *pañca ratha deuḷa* and vice versa. As regards the *Mukhaśāḷā* with its pilasters, some authors say the porch (which resembles a *vimāna*) is a *pañca ratha piḍha deuḷa*. Here, in the same phrase *pañca ratha* and *piḍha* have been combined without a second thought. When put together these words make out a queer concoction of meaning as would emanate from figurative renderings such as - the " tall handsome gentleman is a dwarfish young beautiful lady " or the "dwarfish young beautiful lady is a tall handsome gentleman". It is, therefore, emphasized that the features of the two structures are different : *ratha* is tall and masculine; and *vimāna* is diminutive

and feminine. Moreover, the learned readers have to decide which temple falls in which category.

The style of the main temple of Jagannātha is known in several names such as '*Eka ratha deula*', '*Tri ratha deuḷa*' , '*Pañca ratha deuḷa*', '*Sapta ratha deuḷa*' , and '*Naba ratha deuḷa*' according to the side projections of *rathas* (cars) indicated by the requisite number of pilasters on each of their sides. Similarly, the style of its porch is known as '*Eka vimāna deuḷa*', '*Tri vimāna deuḷa*' , or '*Naba vimāna deuḷa*'. In some lesser known shrines, both the main temple and the *Mukhaśāḷā* (porch) are of the same style which resembles a *vimāna*. It seems, from the very first survey (on styles of temples), when the larger one was considered as the main temple and the smaller one as the porch, the main temple was erroneously referred to as *vimāna* and the practice continued in subsequent writings on Indian architecture. Thus the reason for this error is obvious. But as none of the principal temples of Bhūbaneśwar, Purī, Koṇārk, and Sakṣīgopāḷa are structures likened to a *vimāna*, to claim them as such is flawed. In reality, they are of *ratha* style and need to be addressed accordingly. The *Mukhaśāḷās* in reality are of *vimāna* style and this author identifies them to that effect. The *Mukhaśāḷā* known by its second name as *Mohana* (beautiful) adds to the sublime grace of the entire conglomerate with the tall and masculine main temple providing the backdrop. The porch in its design as a *vimāna* is considered to be a feminine structure.

The *Nāṭamandira* (dancing hall) is a rectangular hall (68ft x 67ft) in front of the *Mukhaśaḷa*. It is popularly known as *Jagamohana* not only for enhancing the elegance of the range of temples but for being accessible to all at any time for feasting their eyes on its grandeur. It is a standing monument to the glorious memory of *Mahārājā* Mukunda Dev (the last independent king of Orissa) who completed it in circa 1562 A.D. It has four prominent arched gateways in four cardinal directions including the one from the porch. The southern and the northern gateways leading to the court with two flights of stairs are meant for pilgrims. The eastern gateways lead to the *Bhogamanḍapa* temple. The covered gangway or the *bhoga* path from the kitchens passing by the *Bhogamanḍapa* temple terminates at one of its smaller gateways to the southeast. The number of smaller gateways constructed towards the south and north is eight. Like the porch, this building has five similar stages of ornamental moulding of its cube in a very simple design over the plinth. Its pyramidal roof is synchronous with a series of six sloping cornices having gradual inward projections from all sides. It is supported by sixteen horizontal arches over an even number of pillars inside and the structure has been cubed by a flat stone roof. The impressive architectural skill, manifested in its gigantic structures e.g., the pillars built in prodigious magnitude to bear and uphold the entire overloading of its pyramidal roof as well as its dimensions punctuated by numerous ornamental gates, continues to be admired by the visitors.

The numerous bas-reliefs (now painted) of different deities appearing on the pillars have been carved many years after the original construction of the temple. Towards the eastern extremity of the building one small monolithic column of stone known as '*Garuḍastambha* ' has been set up over a pedestal with a figure of Garuḍa atop.

The fourth or the last edifice of the range of the Jagannātha temple adjoining the *Nāṭamandira* is known as *Bhogamanḍapa* temple. It seems, it was formerly a *manḍapa* or an open dais for presenting additional cooked *bhogas* (offerings) to the deities in the presence of the pilgrims as done on *Snānamanḍapa* on *Snānayātrā* (the annual festival of ritualistic bath) day when offerings could not be placed in the main temple alongwith *Rājabhoga* or the prescribed daily offerings for want of space. It is said, after the recovery of the shrine from the Buddhists (who practically suspended all the Hindu practices and offered no *bhoga*) by *Jagadguru* Śaṅkarācārya in the 1st century A.D., pilgrims in large number began to visit the shrine and offered *bhoga* with a firm belief that offerings made at this sacred '*Bhogapīṭha* ' of Viṣṇu are accepted by god. Śaṅkarācārya or his successors later to satisfy the pilgrims and to provide them with *mahāprasād* (the offered food) introduced this additional *bhoga*. For this reason, the *maṭha* (monastery) of Śaṅkarācārya at Purī is, to this day, known as *Bhogabardhana Pīṭha* (Appendix-A). As these *sanyāsīs* had control over the spiritual administration of the temple, they had a seat in the *Bhogamanḍapa* to oversee the work of the Brahmin *parichā* or the President of the Managing Council of the temple. *Rāmānuji Vaiṣṇavas* who played active role in the Temple till the meridian of the Marāṭhā administration removed the once established idols of Śaṅkarācārya and his disciple Padmapādacārya from the *Ratnasiṃhāsana* alongwith the Bhairav idol.

The pre-designated *manḍapa* seems to have been first edified into the present temple by king Puruṣottama Dev in circa 1470 A.D. as no historic information of its previous construction in the shape of a temple by any king including Anaṅgabhīma Dev is yet forthcoming; and is known even now as *Bhogamanḍapa* temple. In architectural design it is a *Pañca vimāna deuḷa* (temple) exactly in the same style of structure as the porch of the great Temple. But unlike the porch, its conical tower has three successive series of cornices (six, four, & three in number) in the same order of projection and has two recess bases over the first and the second series. The superstructure of the tower has also similar elevations and depressions according to the development of its pilasters. And these are surmounted on the top (of all three series of cornices) on each side by three huge statues of lions. Four horizontal arches over four gigantic pillars inside provide support to the temple. Its uppermost parts over the neck moulding have undergone five stages of successive upward construction excepting the finial or the jug (of copper) over which the *cakra* (the discus) has been planted. This building meant for presenting additional offerings known as *chātra bhoga* (about once a

day) is quite inaccessible to others except the *suārs* and *pūjāpanḍās.*

In elegance, beauty, and finish, the *Bhogamanḍapa* is the lovely younger sibling of the porch. Veiled overhead with the third additional series of cornices, it stands a little way off from the porch with a smiling face and eyes down-cast on an opposite direction as her wedded elder sister (the porch) in loving embrace, exchanges love-charm jokes with mutual kisses with her Lord(the main Temple) in the presence of a maid attendant (the *Nāṭamandira*) and surrounded by a host of others either paired or single (i.e., the two-fold and single minor temples within the precincts). This beautiful maiden, the sister of the porch and the sister-in-law of the main temple, is looked after properly by them and with due honour to her maidenhood. But as an august virgin, indeed copper - headed (the copper jug on the top) and self-contained in nature, she scrupulously maintains with stern attitude her honour by keeping herself aloof from others in solitary divine moderation (it is closed all the time except during offering of *bhogas*). And she even observes the time -honoured, austere practice of strict self-discipline, generally by feeding herself a not so nutritious meal (as are indeed *chātra bhogas*) once a day in the afternoon. Unlike the other three temples described above, it stands on a higher plinth and has originality in its design of the plinth and the cube, which have been most elaborately ornamented with excellent carvings and statuettes. Its plinth is a two-fold structure known as *pādapīṭha* (pedestal) and *pīṭha* (plinth) and rises to a height of eight feet from the level of the court. The *pādapīṭha* is an offset of two layers of stone and the upper layer is relieved with a continuous run of elephants and horses with riders throughout. The *pīṭha*, on the other hand, has its perpendicular start with red-faced stones in a chaste design full of architectural details having pilasters and recesses laid over on the top by a drip stone moulding all around. The red-faced cube or the perpendicular walls of this temple have excellent architectural design like the porch. It has five pilasters on each side of the walls undergoing the same stages of upward developments from the top of the plinth. Moreover, like the porch it is having three additional plain receding layers of stone over the upper *jangha*, which adds to its beauty and grace.

All its architectural designs have been perfectly executed in geometrical patterns and cut with a degree of propriety and taste over the pilasters and the panels. These are so elaborately engraved throughout with continuous exquisite carvings in the most florid style to its minutest details that even an ardent devotee is nonplussed to stop here, forgetting for a while his stringent vow to pay loving homage to Lord Jagannātha, to feast his eyes and soul with the picturesque scenes they present to him. The entire surface thus carved and the series of low-relief, mid-relief, and high-relief figures of statues and other sculptural details noticed here, there, and everywhere throughout the walls and the plinth - all combine to produce an imposing effect on the beholder. Within its red-coloured walls,

one is amazed to see beautiful chlorite gateways on all directions with clean-cut pilasters guarded on both sides (of gateways) by high-relief door-keeper arch stone with low - relief figures of *navagrahas* over the thresholds. The sight of ornamental *nāgabandha* (four snakes twisted in the pattern of a beautiful continuous chain) running vertically from base to base through the horizontal section and a similar line of uniflorous patterns running side by side alongwith three more lines of foliage tracing separate positions lower down the lowest projecting cornice over the upper *jangha* make the observer spellbound.

Here, one can not help gazing at a scene of war procession comprising of a long continuous row of low-relief tuskers and horses with armed riders and a company of fully equipped musketeers running to a double march order, as if proceeding on a war campaign towards Coñjivaram, commanded by Puruṣottama Dev (to whose glorious memory this monument stands). Just below, there runs an entire length of decorations of gaudy tassels natural in appearance and display beautiful bunches of beads in hanging posture throughout in equal order. And closer to this, there is another long row of wild elephants in low-relief with all their limbs being fully represented and all walking in a line looking about for fodder ; and two or three pairs of which are engaged in breaking branches of a tree. In the same scene, the beholder would be astonished to see a lion in ambush waiting for an opportune moment to spring upon his prey with a terrific roar when it is singled out of the row in the wilderness. A cunning jackal, interestingly, is found amongst the flock forewarning the elephants through his posture and looks not to break the line nor let any one fall out and become single. Represented in Arabesque patterns, a line of ducks often broken in intervals is seen walking slowly over a surface a little below the last row of elephants. Between them three prominent lines with lotuses in two (not so ably carved) and the third intervening line again of ducks are agreeably set. The entire lace-work and ornamental tracing of innumerable delicate floral bands, carvings of foliage, and leafy patterns in flowing outline often repeated over a considerable surface of the cylindrical pilasters and panels are captivating and relate the timeless magic of an age gone by.

On the body of both the plinth and the walls, scenes representing many a *līļa* (feat) of Rāma and Kṛṣṇa as well as bloody contests between the warriors of the great wars of the Rāmāyaṇa and Mahābhārata are depicted. A few of which that best attract a visitor's attention are reproduced here.

In a scene, over the surface of the plinth, Rāma is standing armed with bow and arrows in a decorated chariot amidst his simian force commanded by his generals. They are fighting out Rāvaṇa standing armed in another chariot surrounded by his giant force. In another scene, Rāma is seen fighting out Paraśurāma. In the third, Lakṣman's confrontation with Indrajit is depicted. One panel describes Rāma's consecration of the Rāmeśwar shrine and another, His worship of Durgā

and Mahādev. In the upper *bharandi* of the walls, two mid-relief scenes (on chlorite stones) of Rāma's pompous marriage with Sītā and His ceremonious coronation attended by courtiers and others are shown. These figures are very accurately carved showing distinctly even their eye brows and nails; and upon beholding them any pious visitor would burst into tears of joy.

Kṛṣṇa in the lap of Yaśodā and they being attended by a maid are minutely delineated over the surface of the drip stone moulding of the top layer of the plinth (in the south- east corner). Thenceforth, runs in succession a row of scenes - representations of Kṛṣṇa's wonderful childhood feats of liberating Putanā, Śakaṭā, Sandhā, Bakā, and Argaḷiā. More gratifying and heart touching are the scenes carved on chlorite pieces in niches within the upper *bharandi*. Of these, two independent depictions (east & north) are about Śrīkṛṣṇa's *Dola* festivities - swinging in a nice little *doḷā* or *jhoolā* (swinging seat) hung down from a *toraṇa* by two chains within a roofed *manḍapa* (dais) and very delicately carved with precision. The third one is a scene of *cintāmaṇi* Kṛṣṇa in dancing *mudrā* with six hands and playing a flute. He is surrounded by enchanted cowherds and kine who look up to His joyous face and listen to the sweet melodious notes of His flute. The fourth relates to His *nābakeḷi* i.e., pleasure trip in a nicely decorated boat slowly rowed by milk - maids in the Yamunā. Its hind aplustre rises up disproportionately and the rudder at the stern is being held fast by an attending maid.

Scenes of the Kurukṣetra war would engage the visitor on the surface of the plinth. In one, Arjuna and Karna standing in chariots in war dress with bows and arrows are fighting bravely and Śrīkṛṣṇa is seen as the charioteer of Arjuna. In another, Bhīma and Duryodhan are engaged in a terrible fight. But the third one is very sorrowful and heart-rending. It depicts the painful *śaraśajyā* (bed of arrows) of *Pitāmaha* Bhīṣma, the grandsire and the bravest general of the Kaurava's camp. He in his war dress and armour is wounded in the battlefield by his grandson Arjuna who appears to be upset in his chariot. The matchless general of Kauravas is lying pierced through with arrows all over his body like a porcupine because of the tactful war strategy of Śrīkṛṣṇa; and gravely awaits the imminent *uttarāyaṇa* (the northerly turn of the sun towards the Tropic of Cancer) to embrace glorious death. He is nourished by nectar pouring down into his mouth from the heaven. Images of Śrīkṛṣṇa accompanied by Arjuna and others alighting from the chariot and standing in a courteous manner by the side of the dying general floats across the mind of the observer. It was here only that Lord Kṛṣṇa explained Bhīṣma the doctrine of destiny which is inevitable and unavoidable; and the wounded hero through his bleeding agonies listened to Him with particular attention maintaining a graceful and dignified mood all the while.

In two other engravings, king Nahuṣa and king Prahallād are depicted as Indra (the Lord of Gods) and an important lesson is to be learnt from here by

men of position and scholarship. Both were terrestrial beings but by virtue of their meritorious acts, penances, and mortifications, they achieved the highest position and divinity to preside in the heaven. But while exercising authority, both displayed their distinct traits of personality. Nahuṣa being power-intoxicated, dispensed with the services of the elephants gifted by gods in consideration of his rank. And as depicted, made use of a *vimāna* for his carriage by engaging the helpless *ṛṣis* (saints) as carriers, which is abominable in its very thought because in the heaven all are gods and thus hardly to be engaged in this way to serve their overlord. But Prahallād who acquired perfect wisdom to see through merit at a glance was up to his mark. He revered the *ṛṣis* and demonstrated his magnanimity by placing them on the same level with him. Both the scenes - Nahuṣa being carried by the *ṛṣis* and Prahallad seated over his elephant with them - have been very faithfully carved. One can see power hungry Nahuṣa (puffed up as he is) seated with arms at right angles over his waist but , on the other hand, there is unruffled serenity on the face of Prahallād. These sculptural depictions of personalities may be compared to contrasting native rulers who are endowed with either repulsive or endearing attributes. As any one knows, the former had his downfall and the latter enjoyed supreme salvation. Each description on the *Bhogamanḍapa* thus speaks thousand words; and although the observer remains speechless, he implicitly reacts to continue his interface with the mythical characters.



IV

Temple through Turmoils

The most casual reader of Indian history is aware of the religious sacrileges and iconoclastic vandalism committed by alien bigots and foreign freebooters. The heart of every Hindu shudders at the recollection of those days of cruel tyranny and heartless oppression. The Temple of Jagannātha and the sacred idols were also subjected to a long series of unparalleled atrocities and the Hindus were compelled to meet these inhuman aggressions sixteen times in succession. The *dārubrahma* idols had to be repeatedly carried away, concealed, or buried underground. Several harrowing tales of misery and oppression that I am going to narrate here would stagger the imagination of even the most depraved of human beings. It is a matter of no small gratification that this shrine of remote antiquity had not to share the fate of the Somanāth and the Mahākāl temples and other famous Hindu shrines. It is really surprising that this temple survived so many storms of disaster but still retains high standard of glory, pristine sacredness, popularity; and is well known far and wide.

It is learnt from the *Mādaḷāpāñji* as well as from the local sources that in or about the year 339 A.D. and during the reign of *Mahārājā* Śobhan Dev (who had his capital at *Puruṣottama kṣetra* or Purī), the watchman on the seashore reported that straw, horse excreta, cowdung, and various other suspicious materials were found floating in the sea. Being alarmed, the king visited the shore and dreading the imminent approach of an invading army, made a hasty consultation with his ministers and deserted the capital and the kingdom as well thus leaving the enemy to perish for want of proper provisions. On this occasion, the sacred idols were carried away towards the inaccessible mountainous Parañga (known at present as the *garjāts*). Soon a battle ensued that continued for fortyfive years. Ironically, when it was found impossible to drive out the dreaded *Yavana* army and to reoccupy the capital, the idols were removed and subsequently buried somewhere in a dense forest in the present Sonepur estate (the sacred land of sacrifices) and a banyan tree was planted over the spot of burial to help in future identification.

This fateful invasion of Utkal was commanded by one Raktavāhu whom the *Pāñji* describes as a great enemy of the gods and as a *Yavana* or a non-Hindu barbarian. Another passage in the *Pāñji* describes Raktavāhu as a *Śāka* who after a terrible battle of five decades succeeded in overthrowing the then ruling dynasty of Utkal, which remained under his suzerainty and his successors for a period of 146 years. During this time, a fearful cataclysm took place that threw up a narrow sand bank in the midst of the sea not far from the shore and a considerable portion of the sea was thus separated and formed itself into the Cilika lake which has a small channel opening into the sea.

The priestly *nijogs* or *sevakas* (servitors) of the temple who had deserted the ruling *Mahārājā* took to diverse occupations in different parts of the province. But the *Pati nijog* (the descendants of the famous Brahmin missionary Vidyāpati) and the faithful *Daitā nijog* (the descendants of Viśwāvasu) lived side by side near the spot where the sacred idols were buried. They used to make daily offerings of fruits and flowers to the deities; and at sunset burnt an oil lamp (*dīpa*) under the banyan tree as in the good old days the faithful Viśwāvasu did in honour of Nīlamādhav Dev in the cave. For generations, they lived in the jungle among the tribals. Śobhan Dev, the dethroned king, tried for years to regain his lost kingdom but in vain and had to pass the declining years of his life in the dense forests. His son Candrakar Dev lived only for thirteen years after the death of his father and he too died desparately in the woods leaving no trace either of his family or his attendants.

The sacred idols were destined to be buried in the far off lands for about a century and a half. Their only attendants were the *Daitās* and the *Patis* who occasionally paid stealthy visits to *Puruṣottama kṣetra* where they found fresh causes for despair. The *Martya vaikuṇṭha* (the heaven on earth - as Purī is otherwise known), the favourite abode of Viṣṇu was in deserted ruins. The Temple which once resounded with the prayers of countless devotees from all parts of *Āryābarta* was converted into a haunted ground fearful in its sepulchral seclusion. The *Yavana* barbarians had fixed near the outer gate of the temple an inscription which read to the effect that whoever would enter the temple, attempt to revive Hinduism by trying to rebuild the shrine, or consecrate the expelled deities in it shall be guilty of unutterable sins.

In the 5th century after Christ, the great king Yajāti reconquered the province. After driving away the descendants of Raktavāhu, he founded the *Keśarī* dynasty in Utkal (474 A.D.). Yajāti ruled the kingdom with great strength and wisdom; and became very popular among his subjects and vassals by virtue of his many meritorious acts. He had his capital at Jājpur where he performed many sacrifices and other *Vedic* rituals. This place on the bank of river Vaitaraṇī, described as *Virajā maṇḍaḷa* in the *Purāṇas*, is still called Jājpur after Yajāti. After laying the

foundation of the famous Śaiva temple at Bhūbaneśwar, the king turned his attention to the rehabilitation of the glory of *Puruṣottama kṣetra.* At this opportune moment, the sturdy attendants of the buried deities sent a delegation from Sonepur to the king who was upset after hearing the tragic story of the sacred idols and the religious outrage committed by the *Yavana* barbarians. The pious king forthwith made a sacred resolve for the revival of the lost splendor of Śrīkṣetra by recovering the sacred *dārubrahma* idols and rebuilding the temple of Jagannātha.

King Yajāti was as good as his promises. Shortly afterwards, he along with his ministers and counselors paid a visit to Purī that was desolate and in ruins. The king eagerly acquainted himself with the antiquities of the great shrine and the traditions connected with it. But when he noticed the wicked inscription planted (by the barbarians) over the outer gateway, he was struck dumb. The inscription contained materials to the effect that whosoever would enter the temple or try to revive its lost glory shall be guilty of the immeasurable sin of having illicit relationship with his mother. No one thus in the past dared to enter the temple with this dreadful writing staring him in the face; and Yajāti was at a loss to comprehend what he would do under these perplexing circumstances.

His mind was beset with sorrow and anxiety that knew no bounds. Not being able to find a solution for this difficult problem, he convened an assembly of Hindus which was believed to have been attended by thousands of *naiṣṭhic* (austere) *brāhmaṇa paṇḍits.* It is said, he brought learned *brāhmaṇas* from Kānyakūbja and established them in his kingdom by offering extensive homestead and arable lands to each of them. After prolonged discussions, the *Śākta* section of the Hindus viewed that being worshippers of *Śakti,* they were immune to such useless threat held out by the inscription; and that they were prepared to lead the way if the king promised to make provision for the glorification of *Śakti* in the sacred shrine. On positive assurance, a huge procession headed by the *Śāktas* entered the temple on an auspicious day and soon steps were taken to rebuild the shrine in consultation with the ministers and architects.

Sometime afterwards, the temple was rebuilt to a height of thirtyeight cubits and its *Śāstric pratiṣṭhā* (sanctification) was solemnised with pomp and grandeur. Mean while searches were made to locate the descendants of the *nijog sevaks* who were then scattered throughout the province and as a result, a considerable number of men could be traced. The *Daitās* and the *Pati nijogs* were located in the Sonepur-Gopāli jungles, the former in the Virivandha village and the latter in an adjoining village called Ratanpur. Some others were traced in Maṅgaḷapur and adjacent villages near Mukundapur (in Purī district); and a few others were found in Kuḷasiri, Kasraḍā and in neighbouring villages (in Cuttack district).After verifying their bonafides through a series of difficult procedures, King Yajāti selected a few from amongst them. Being followed by this chosen band of

sevakas, the king proceeded to Sonepur-Gopāḷi where the sacred Idols lay buried. Five *Vatsasa-gotrī* Brahmins who were promised services in the temple cut down the banyan tree that stood over the grave and the *dārubrahma* idols were retrieved out of the pit in a decayed condition. The remnants of the idols were brought with great pomp and ceremony in carriers specially made for the occasion. It was preceded by a huge procession that rent the sky with jubilant exhilarations of cheers, songs, and music. Simultaneously, extensive preparations were made at Puri for the due reception of the returning deities. After the state arrival of the remnants of the idols, the *navakaḷevara* was performed amidst high enthusiasm. The rejuvenated *dārubrahma* idols were installed on the hallowed *Ratnasiṃhāsana* on the 25th day of *Makara* (January-February) in the year 485 A.D[1] and as a result, the joy of the subjects knew no bounds. The *Sevaka nijogs* were reappointed to carry on (as before) the daily and periodical rituals, worship, and ceremonies of the gods. King Yajāti, in order to commemorate this historic event, made extensive endowments for many pious and deserving Brahmins.

It may be recalled, *Mahārājā* Indradyumna built the first temple and enshrined the sacred idols. As king Yajāti rebuilt it and reconsecrated the idols, he was justly recognised as the second Indradyumna. While heading towards Sonepur-Gopāḷi, he travelled the entire distance that covered many miles of impenetrable forest tracts on foot like a sincere devotee. When the disinterred deities were being triumphantly carried back to the Temple, the noble king even walked beside the chariots. On subsequent occasions, umbrellas (*chatris*) and sunshades meant for the deities were hoisted over the good king. He was also honoured with all the other insignia and paraphernalia of the gods and used to be attended by the *nijog sevakas.* In fact, the king was revered as the '*Caḷanti Viṣṇu*' (Embodiment of Lord Viṣṇu) on account of his superlative virtues and devout life. Since those days, the Hindus have been addressing any king who adorns the throne of Orissa with this exalted title. Again, the kings of Orissa as *Rāj sevāyat* proprietors of the Temple are privileged to use Lord Jagannātha's umbrella, drums, and bugles (*bīra kāhāḷīs*) and are held in great esteem by the Hindus. It is also popularly believed that a pilgrimage to this holy shrine attains consummation only after a *darśan* of the *Rājā*, the living representative of god on earth.

The fact that king Yajāti, a worshipper of both Śiva and Śakti, spared no pains for the revival of worship of Viṣṇu proves beyond doubt the breadth of his outlook and the catholicity of the Hindu faith. He fulfilled his promises made to the *Śāktas* and since then their doctrine is being respected in the temple. The *sevakas* though Vaiṣṇavites in appearance are to all intents and purposes staunch believers in *Śakti*,

1. Sahu (1956) is in favour of reckoning 474 A.D. as the year when the *navakalevara* of the deities were performed by king Yajati. Bhattacherji (1995) records that the Keśarī family graced the throne of Orissa in circa 473 A.D and held it till 1131 A.D.

the feminine power of god or the creative aspect of the Almighty. Since the days of Yajāti, the influence of *Śakti* worship effected considerable changes in the daily offerings made to the gods and in Their general make-up, dress, and accoutrements. The characteristically *Śākta* ceremonials including animal sacrifice and offerings of non-vegetarian food to Goddess Vimaḷā in the temple on the three days of *Pārvaṇa pūjā* in the month of *Āświna* have since received no opposition from even the greatest of Vaiṣṇavite teachers and reformers alike.

Years of peace and tranquility ensured by the mighty kings for centuries were for the first time shattered in the first decade of the 16th century during the reign of Pratāparudra Dev of the Solar dynasty when Ismāil Khān (General of Hossain Shāh, Sultān of Bengal), taking advantages of the *Mahārājā*'s presence near the Godāvarī in the southern provinces, invaded Orissa (1509 A.D.); and laid siege to Cuttack, the capital of the kingdom. His earlier attempts to destabilize the state were rebuffed but this time the lady luck was not in favour of the ruling power. Govinda Vidyādhar (the Home Commander) having been defeated, withdrew to Sāranga Garh leaving the capital to be mercilessly ransacked by the paṭhans. After the pillage, it was abandoned and the conquering marauders advanced towards Purī. The *panḍās* dreading the worst carried away the sacred idols and concealed them in Cadhei Guhā, a hill cave on the Cilikā lake. When the *Mahārājā* was informed about the invasion, he hastily marched back with the formidable Oriya army. But unfortunately before his arrival, the town together with the Temple were thoroughly plundered and many idols were broken. Pratāparudra and his soldiers however closely followed the retreating Paṭhan army. The two armies came face to face on the bank of the Ganges where a fierce battle ensued. Ismāil Khān was utterly defeated and was forced to retire to the fort of Mandar where he was besieged by the victorious army. But Govinda Vidyādhar, the treacherous chieftain was gained over by Ismāil Khān. As a consequence, Pratāparudra was compelled to lift the siege and withdrew to a position to enable Ismāil to cross over the Ganges and pass safely into Bengal. Govinda Vidyādhar, however, on oath proclaimed that he was not guilty of treachery and the good king chose to believe his sworn statement and unwisely forgave the traitor. This faithless commander ultimately committed high treason and usurped the throne by foul means. After the horrific onslaught of the paṭhans, the *dārubrahma* idols were duly reinstalled on the *Ratnavedī* the next year.

The third desecration of the temple took place when the last independent king of Orissa, Mukunda Dev (1557-1568 A.D) was killed in a battle near Jājpur and Orissa lost her dearly preserved independence once for all. Allusions to it are briefly narrated in the *Mādaḷāpāñji*. Emperor Akbar had sent one Hāsān Khān as emissary to the court of Mukunda Dev with many costly presents. Consequently, a treaty was formalised between the two for which the *Mahārājā* agreed to help

the great Moghul in his expedition against Sulaimān, the Afghan Governor of Bengal who had defied the Emperor's authority and assumed the title of *Sultān.* In pursuance of this pact, the *Mahārājā* stationed an army on the bank of the Ganges to co-operate with the Emperor's military commander in Bengal as and when necessary. Intelligence of this powerful alliance soon reached the hostile Governor who out of fear made his submission before Akbar and swore allegiance to the throne of Delhi. But Sulaimān could not forget that the *Mahārājā* 's help was the real cause of his humiliation. Mukunda Dev had on a previous occasion also incurred the displeasure of Sulaimān for giving shelter to the latter's arch enemy Sultān Ibrāhim who was driven out of Bengal. The offer of help extended to the Moghul Emperor was deemed outrageous and added fuel to the fire already burning in his heart. The Afghan Governor at once marched his force towards the *Mahārājā* 's territories even as he dreaded Akbar's certain disapproval of such a rash action. But, nevertheless, Sulaimān was always on the look out for a suitable opportunity to wreak vengeance upon Mukunda Dev.

During those stormy days, Akbar had to wage many wars and in most of these warfares, he had to command the military operations himself. While he was engaged in one such war at Gujrāt, the ever alert Sulaimān seized the opportunity and declared himself independent and with a mighty army marched towards Orissa. Mukunda Dev had an inkling of Suleimān's scheme for revenge. He sent messages to Akbar for help when Sulaiman began to mobilise his forces to march down into his (Mukunda's) territories. He with a large army took up position in Koṭi Sāmi forest near the Trivenī *ghāṭ* (bank) on the Ganges to retard the advance of the enemy's forces. Soon a series of battles were fought and in most, the *Mahārājā* got the better of the alien army. The wily Afghan Governor clearly perceived that there was hardly any chance for him in open warfares so he gave a slip with his forces and split it into two. Keeping the Oriyā army engaged with one, he ordered his son-in-law Kaḷāpāhāra[2] to stealthily penetrate into the very heart of Orissa with the other division. Kaḷāpāhāra, the notorious Hindu hater, was originally a Brahmin and bore the name of Kaḷācānd Roy. After his conversion into Islam, he married Sulaimān's daughter and became one of his most intrepid generals. Now that he got the opportunity of commanding a large army and obtained Sulaimān's orders for devastating one of the most sacred lands of Hinduism, his wicked heart was filled with hellish delight and his mind with diabolical projects. Through the connivance of two Oriya military officers who were dismissed from

2. In his Riyaz*u-s-Salātīn* (p.18), Ghulam Husain Salim (1788) while writing about Kalāpāhāra mentioned, "...wherever the sound of his drum reached, the hands and the feet, the ears, and noses of the idols worshipped by the Hindus fell off their stone figures so that even now stone-idols with hands and feet broken, and noses and ears cut off are lying at several places in that country."(A History of Bengal; Translated by Maulavi A. Salam, 1904, Calcutta.)

royal service, the redoubtable Kaḷāpāhāra very secretly continued his march through Mayurbhanj and Keonjhar and took possession of Jājpur. He soon marched towards Cuttack, the then capital of Orissa. In a few days and after a fearful struggle, the township fell and the royal treasures found in the famous Bārabātī fort were all plundered. Koli Sāmantasiṃhāra, the Home Commander was compelled to evacuate the capital. The power intoxicated Kaḷāpāhāra as the head of the victorious Muslim army later descended upon Purī like a hungry wolf pursuing the prey.

The *sevakas* and the custodians of the Temple of Lord Jagannātha heard with consternation the approach of Kaḷāpāhāra - the arch enemy of the gods. The rumours of his iconoclastic exploits had filled their minds with awe and fear. Dreading the most, the *paṇḍās* carried off the venerable idols before the advent of the enemy and concealed them in pits in *Chapāli Hātipadā* (Pārikud) on the Cilikā Lake. Upon reaching Purī, he found the place almost deserted and looted the royal as well as the temple treasuries. On his orders, the top most portion of the great temple and many idols were broken. Kaḷāpāhāra and his bloodthirsty followers committed all sorts of atrocities and oppressed people to make them reveal the whereabouts of the idols. They at last succeeded in getting a clue to the secret place and proceeded to Pārikud and seized the idol of Jagannātha. Kaḷāpāhāra then marched back to Purī with the idols and vast treasures including precious stones and a large quantity of gold laden on elephants.

Within a few days, news of the fall of Cuttack and the sack of Purī (including the Temple) reached Mukunda Dev on the banks of the Ganges. But he found himself in a perilous position. No help in the shape of reinforcement had yet arrived from the Moghul Emperor. The imperial army generally stationed in Bengal was recalled to Gujrāt by that time and it was not considered prudent to dispatch it to an expectant ally already with sufficient manpower and mobility. Although help from Akbar did arrive in the long run but by then the native forces were utterly routed and dispersed. But Mukunda Dev, the great hero and warrior, was not disheartened by his defeat. He placed the remnants of his force under the command of his two sons and hastened down towards Cuttack to face the enemy and to drive them away. The two armies met *en route* at Jājpur where a fierce battle ensued. In this fateful battle, Mukunda Dev fell with sword in hand and consequently Orissa lost her independence for good. Kaḷāpāhāra, elated with victory and carrying with him vast treasures including the idol of Jagannātha, marched back to Bengal.

When the victorious Muslim army reached the banks of the Ganges, Kaḷāpāhāra ordered to burn the *dārubrahma* idol. The sacred idol was accordingly put on pyre and was reduced to ashes except a small portion that defied all further attempts at incineration. This highly symbolic object representing the god's essence (the real *brahma*) was at last secretly thrown into the river by the disgusted soldiers. Through all these, one Bisar *alias* Biśweśwar Mahānti (an Oriyā devotee of Purī) disguised

as a beggar followed the sacred idol of Jagannātha. Although the soldiers of the enemy's camp looked upon him as a mad cap and a vagabond, the ever alert and watchful Bisar kept the idol under his constant surveillance. When he saw the object of his worship being put on the pyre, his sorrow knew no bounds. But being powerless against the host of Muslim soldiers, he watched the heart - rending scene with anguish and eyes down cast. The faithful Bisar secretly stole away from the enemy's camp and after following the sacred *nābhibrahma* for many a mile downstream, pulled it out of water at the mouth of the Ganges. After a tedious coastal journey extending over many weeks, he reached Kujaṅga (a maritime estate about sixty miles to the north-east of Purī) carrying the *nābhibrahma* on his shoulders. The poor man stopped there as his fatigued legs refused to carry him any further and made over his holy trust to the *Rājā* of Kujaṅga and narrated the fateful adventure.

The consternation that followed the battle at Jājpur after the defeat and fall of Mukund Dev threw the remnant of the Oriya army into great disorder and every one sought for his own personal safety. His two sons found their positions very perilous and hence secretly made off towards Delhi to report to the Emperor about the tragic death of their father and the country's downfall. Their sudden and stealthy departure from the battlefield was unknown even to the nobles; and the people who were naturally dependent upon them got disillusioned and took the missing royals as dead.

Kaḷāpāhāra who dreaded the sure vengeance of Akbar was neither interested in founding a kingdom in Orissa nor of perpetuating his power there through any means. He was rather more concerned with the clandestine disposal of the vast booty he had collected from the country. As a result of this calamity, confusion and anarchy reigned supreme in the region for some time. During this interregnum two pretenders, Rāmacandra Bhanja and Raghu Bhanja contended for the throne and were killed in succession.

Meanwhile, recovery of the holy remnants spread through the length and breadth of the state and there was widespread agitation for the installation of the idols in the temple. The subordinate chiefs and the people in general held a congregation at Khurdā. In the absence of a son of Mukunda Dev, Ramāi Rāut'rāi, son of Janārdan Vidyādhar of late Govind Vidyādhar's family was nominated as the next king. The Rāut'rāis were the hereditary *Bhois* or ministers of land revenue in Orissa and nomination of Ramāi Rāut'rāi was an expedient measure for early restoration of the sacred idol. The coronation was celebrated and Rāmacandra Dev I ascended the throne (1580 A.D.) after assuming the title of *Mahārājā.* The sovereign justified the country's choice and well repaid the peoples' debt by repairing and whitewashing the Temple and by installing the newly constructed deities thereat (1589 A.D.). On account of this noble achievement, the Hindu world still

pays him grateful tribute and venerates him as Indradyumna, the third. The descendants of Ramāi Rāut'rāi long governed Orissa and the present royal house also belongs to the *Bhoi* stock of *kṣatrīyas* of the lunar lineage.

A curious episode that needs to be mentioned here is that many devotees including *santhas, mahantas, sanyāsīs*, and *brahmacārīs* expressed whispering discontent at the genuineness of the new idols sanctified by the contents recovered under doubtful circumstances from the impure and desecrating hands of the Paṭhān barbarians. As these legitimate whispers of religious skepticism grew in volume, the clergy, the priests, and the laity combined together to devise means for testing the newly installed deities. After the *rājabhoga* , a quantity of *mahāprasād* (sacred food offerings) was placed near the south *Beharaṇa dwāra* (gate) where Rāmacandra Dev I waited in the midst of a large concourse of people who were eager to test the efficacy of the *mahāprasād* on three men of whom one was deaf, the other blind, and the third mentally deficient. If, said the people, the offerings would cure the defects, they would accept the new idols and the *bhoga* as genuine and pay unanimous tribute of veneration. Strange to say, no sooner did the *Panti Baḍu* serve *mahāprasād* than the blindman recovered sight, the deaf began to hear, and together with the third they recited religious hymns, which they had never before even heard, to the surprise of the crowd of spectators. The devotees *en masse* prostrated before the deities. Shedding tears of joy, they partook the *mahāprasād* and danced in the temple and the town rending the sky with loud *nāma sankīrtana* (reciting of god's name in songs of religious nature) accompanied by musical instruments.

Mahārājā Rāmacandra Dev I amply rewarded Bisar for his invaluable services. The status of a hereditary *sevak* was bestowed upon him and he was given the special privilege of officiating as the '*Mukhasiṃhārī*'(face-painter) during the *aṇabasara* days. The *Mādaḷāpāñji* records that since its creation, this special service has been incorporated in the group services of the *Daitā nijog*. The *nijog* is figuratively described as having made this *dutta* (gift) to Bisar through the agency of the King. It is for this reason that the present *Mukhasiṃhārīs* (the descendants of the good Bisar) still bear the title of *Dutta Mahāpātra*. This last created *sevak - nijog*, however, has the least number of pilgrims entrusted to its care on ordinary as well as festival occasions.

To commemorate the reinstallation of the deities, the king established four endowments known as Brahmin *śāsans* (colonies) in his own name in the *pergaṇāh* of Rāhāṅga near Purī. It needs a special mentioning here that the Brahmin chiefs of these *sāsans* and the ones previously established in Purī, Cuttack, and other districts by the former kings had no *bhāga* (or share) specially set apart for them. This bears unmistakable testimony to the fact that the *Sāmanta* system and the various artificial gradations amongst the Brahmins had their origin and development during the regime of later kings of the *Bhoi* lineage.

As the powers of the royal house were gradually circumscribed during the regime of kings with semi-independent status, their former activities were also considerably reduced. Alongwith the gradual extinction of political life and degradation, corruption slowly crept in and justice and equity in social field was entirely disregarded. The dignified and selfless men like Śambhu Kar Vājpeyī, *Paramahańsa* Vājpeyī, Śivai Sāmantaray, Narendra Paṭṭajoṣi, and others of high spiritual traditions were replaced by a long succession of Brahmin counsellors who were gravelling flatterers and narrow self-seekers concerned more for self-aggrandisement than the upkeep of racial dignity and noble ideals. This suicidal policy dealt a death blow to the time honoured principles of equality and fraternity; and split up the once powerful Brahmin community into numerous divisions and subdivisions which engaged them in useless debates and eternal dissensions.

Long after the events narrated above, the two sons of Mukunda Dev returned to Orissa with *Rājā* Mānsingh and claimed the throne of their father. But the people staunchly supported the new *Mahārājā* whom they had proclaimed as such and who had also laid them under a deep debt of gratitude by reinstating the sacred *dārubrahma* idols. The hapless sons of the late king were obliged to give up all hopes of recovering the throne and finally reconciled to their sorrowful fate. Rāmacandra Dev I as a scholar and noble prince had such captivating manners that he at once won over *Rājā* Mānsingh in his favour and soon the intrepid general without hesitation yielded to public opinion. The noble-hearted and generous Akbar in order to provide for the sons of his late ally, placed them in charge of two principalities newly created for them in Orissa - one at Aul and the other at Paṭiā. The good Emperor conferred upon them the title of *Rājā* and recognized them as subordinate chiefs under *Mahārājā* Rāmacandra Dev I who by the way ruled over Orissa for a period of about ten years.

From 1570 to 1590 A.D , struggles continued between the Moghuls and the Afghan paṭhāns for supremacy over Orissa. During this period of political unrest and anarchy, the aliens were said to have plundered the Temple of Jagannātha on several occasions but there is no record of the shifting of the idols. It is not improbable that Rāmacandra Dev I had to pay heavy ransoms to the invaders to save the idols from defilement and the temple from desecration. On one such occasion, the great Hindu *Rājā* Mānsingh is said to have successfully defended the Temple and saved the idols from the catastrophe of falling into the hands of the Afghan free-booters. Then followed a series of thirteen serious invasions systematically organized and conducted by Moghul Subedars and Generals against the temple with the sole object of plundering it and destroying the sacred idols. These religious outrages were committed after the death of Akbar (1605 A.D.) and there are ample records of these inhuman atrocities, religious intolerance, and oppression. Soon after Akbar's death and during

the reign of *Mahārājā* Puruṣottama Dev (the second prince of the *Bhoi* family), Moghul Subedar Mirzā Khurrum of Cuttack invaded Purī and plundered the temple. His attempt to seize the idols was thwarted because these were earlier carried away and concealed in the shrine of Pañcamukhī Devī at Kapiḷeśwarpur where the *Doḷa yātrā* (the festival of colour) was being celebrated.

Rājput commander *Rājā* Keśu Dās Māru of the Moghul army stationed at Cuttack visited Purī as a pilgrim with a large number of attendants during the car festival and unexpectedly took possession of the Temple in 1608 A.D. He plundered precious gems and jewellery etc (valued nearly three crores of rupees)from there and sieged *Guṇḍicā ghar*. Not content with all these, he burnt the chariots, tortured and killed many *paṇḍās* and influential men to squeeze more riches. The horrors thus caused, beggar descriptions. There were fierce fightings between the invaders and the Hindus headed by the king. But the safety of the idols had at last to be dearly purchased on a heavy ransom and on the receipt of which the enemy retired towards their headquarters. For this act of unparalleled barbarity, Keśu Dās, the monster of inhumanity was promoted to the rank of a commander of 4,000 horses andpresented with a dress-of-honour by Emperor Jahāngir[3] who, thereby, encouraged all subsequent Subedars of the province to embark on similar brutal expeditions against important Hindu shrines and its after effect was no doubt considered highly detrimental for healthy national spirits.

After the retreat of Keśu Dās and his forces, the deities had to be carried back in '*caudoḷa* ' to the temple as the cars were destroyed. So complete and thorough was the plunder and devastation that for want of funds no cooked offering could be made to the deities for about a year. In the year 1610 A.D., before Hāsān Khān's invasion of Purī and the plunder of the Temple, the idols were secretly carried away to the temple of Gopāḷjī in Khurdā; and concealed there for over a year till his retreat. But soon after the idols were brought back, Kalyāṇ Mall (the Subedar of Orissa and son of renowned *Rājā* Toḍar Mall) invaded Khurdā (1612 A.D.) and treacherously assassinated Dāsa Vidyādhar, the commander of Puruṣottama Dev and his sixteen lieutenants at Ghalākuḷi and marched towards Puri. The idols were removed hurriedly to Mainsiālasi (an island in the Cilikā Lake) and subsequently to Gollai fort and the hostilities continued for about a year. After a terrific struggle, Kalyāṇ Mall was at last defeated by Puruṣottama Dev. He was captured and killed at Bāgsarpur and his army ignominiously moved back towards Cuttack.

Makārām Khān, a Moghul General invaded Khurdā and Purī in 1618 A.D. Puruṣottama Dev, unable to withstand such repeated onslaughts, deserted Khurdā and took up his position in his hill fort at Māṇatrī on the border of Raṇapur in

3. *Bāhāristān-i-Ghaybī.* A History of the Mughal Wars by Mirza Nathan; Translated by M.J.Borah., Vol.II, p. 806, 1936, Gauhati.

anticipation of a prolonged confrontation. Loot and plunder continued for a period of two years and the whole region together with the temple were repeatedly sacked. Before the arrival of the marauders, the idols were carried off to Golbāi and thence to Gabapaḍā on the border of Bāṇpur. When Makārām withdrew his army (1619 A.D.), the idols were carried back. In 1621 A.D. Subedar Ahmed Beg looted the temple but prior to his foray, the idols were secretly carried away to Māṇatrī fort and deposited there with the *Rājā*. The following year after *navakaḷevara*, the idols were placed on the *Ratnabedī*. Shortly after, Puruṣottam Dev quietly left this world of sorrows and sufferings for good in his fort at Māṇatrī.

Prince Khurram (afterwards Shahjahan) rebelled against his father Emperor Jahangir in 1624 A.D. While marching with his forces from the Deccan to Bengal, the rebellious prince had to pass through Orissa. He was opposed on the way by Subedar Ahmed Beg but was forced to move towards Purī. At this turn of event, the *panḍās* again took the idols to Māṇatrī. When Prince Khurrum left, upon the defeat of Ahmed Beg, the idols were brought back. Here, some more considerations to his identity may be worthwhile. Subedar Ahmed Beg mentioned in the *Mādaḷāpāñji* seems to be the Lāl Beg of Cuttack about whom reference has also been made in the literary work, "*Dārḍhyatā Bhakti*" (chapter - 27) composed in about circa 1767 A.D. by Panḍit Rāmacandra Dās of Mahurī, Munḍeśwar. This work describes the acts of plunder and devastation caused by Lāl Beg in the kingdom of the Gajapati *Mahārājā* ; and reveals as to how a Brahmin widow was once forcibly abducted from Dānḍa Mukundapur *śāsan* in Purī district in course of his expedition. Their son Sālabeg, in the prime of his youth, imbibed the spirit of Hinduism and turned out to be one of the most renowned devotees of Lord Jagannātha. Many of his heart-touching devotional songs are still on the lips of the people. To make out an idea of the then ruling Moghul power, a few stanzas of the aforesaid text are reproduced elsewhere (Appendix-C).

When Emperor Shahjahan (1630 A.D.) with a vast army passed through Orissa towards the Deccan, the *panḍās* apprehending trouble hurriedly carried the gods to Khurdā and restored Them to *Ratnavedī* after about a year. Subedar Fateh Khān, in-charge of Orissa under the control of Mal-Mal-Khān, invaded Purī in 1647 A.D which was already a center of attraction for the invaders. The idols were this time removed to Pārikud in the Cilikā Lake. Fighting continued for several months at Khurdā and Purī between the forces of Fateh Khān and Narasiṃha Dev. Narasiṃha Dev was ultimately sieged in his new palace at Bāli Sāhi (in Purī town) and mercilessly butchered there because the ungrateful wretch Anirudha Ray (an Oriya officer) betrayed the master. The Temple was plundered by the alien mob and the streets were strewn over with the dead and the dying. After Fateh Khān's departure, the idols were brought back and the rites and festivities were carried on as usual though in far less ostentatious scales.

During the reign of *Mahārājā* Divyasingh Dev I, Emperor Aurangzeb's Naib-subedar Ekrām Khān, his brother Marmast Khān Jamāulla, and one Emān Coobi accompanied by fifty cavalry soldiers invaded the sacred city of Purī on May 17, 1697 A.D. They broke down the Lions' Gate of Jagannātha temple, looted the *bhanḍārs* (treasure houses), and carried off the *cakra* (discus) from the *Bhogamanḍapa*. Before the attack however the sacred *nābhi* of the *dārubrahma* idols were concealed behind the temple of Goddess Vimaḷā and some idols were sent away to Kokaḷagarh. The *panḍās* (priests) and hapless others were unfortunately subjected to all sorts of atrocities by the alien bigots and fanatics who also destroyed the empty wooden forms which encased the sacred *nābhibrahmā*. The maniacs completed their inhuman drama of oppression by closing the eastern and the southern gates by raising walls. After their departure, the sacred *nābhi* were restored into the newly constructed *bigrahas* (idols) and ensconced on *Ratnasiṃhāsan* in the *sanctum sanctorum*.

The next outrage was committed during the fitful invasion of Mohammed Taki Khān (son of *Dewān* Sujā-ud-din Khān of Bengal), *Subāhdār* (Subedar) of Cuttack (1727 A.D.). This time the idols were secretly conveyed first to Bānpur and subsequently to Tikāli. Taki Khān accompanied by one Daśarath Khān perpetuated the last onslaught in 1733 A.D., plundered the temple, and tortured the unresisting populace. Crossing over Cilikā, the Jagannātha triad was taken to Āthagarh Māradā; and brought back to Purī when the invading force retired to Cuttack (1736 A.D.).

The Temple of Jagannātha from 1509 to 1733 A.D. witnessed the cruelest acts of barbarism of men again men, of unparalleled religious vandalism and intolerance, and of devilish intemperance never seen in any shrine world over. As it appears from the *Mādaḷāpāñji*, the Mahommedans had repeatedly invaded and devastated the kingdom of Orissa. These misguided zealots razed the countryside and towns, destroyed or damaged temples and idols of Purī sixteen times in succession. The nefarious attacks on this temple city caused wanton sufferings and insecurity in the inhabitants. The *Pāñji* being restricted to the facts constituting the history of the temple gives us only short accounts of these political and semi-religious aggressions in so far as they affected or related to the temple; and it did not necessarily record other barbarous expeditions that might have indirectly affected the temple. Repeated acts of transporting the deities to safety from falling into the foul hands of the infidels show beyond any iota of doubt the determination and devotion of the people towards their gods and their supreme belief in the Almighty. All these make this cultural heritage undying and flowing; and invites towards it greater attention and respect from all over the Hindu fraternity.

The history of Mahommedan rule in Orissa if properly written would make the Mahommedan world hang its head in shame and fill the cruelest heart with unspeakable horror. The estate of Lord Jagannātha yielding then an annual gross

revenue of Rs 3½ lakh and comprising an extensive area of landed property endowed by the independent kings of Orissa were summarily confiscated to the crown. The untold temple treasures such as innumerable precious gems, ornaments, gold and silver utensils, and loads of superb millinery presented to the deities by generations of *rājās*, *mahārājās*, devotees, and other rich pilgrims from all parts of India together with the gold canopy and the ornamental coatings over the *Ratnasiṃhāsana* were repeatedly plundered by (or at least with the connivance of) the ruling power, who were spoken of as the protectors of the lives and properties of the subjects.

We must not forget here to pay our glowing tribute of loving admiration and gratitude to the noble kings of the *Bhoi* dynasty who staked their honour, their prestige, and their lives for the preservation and protection of this ancient shrine. We must also record our deep sense of grateful appreciation of the invaluable services of the ever-alert and persevering members of the temple's Managing Council, the *sevak nijogs*, and the worthy people of Purī who risked their lives and properties for protecting the great idols from being desecrated. The names of Bisar and such other people, who for the sake of their faith performed acts of unparalleled selflessness, deserve to be inscribed in letters of gold in the blood-stained pages of the history of Muslim rule in Orissa. We, who are enjoying unmitigated tranquility and peace now, hardly realize the cold horrors of those days of cruel tyranny, lawless anarchy, and heartless oppressions.

Orissa continued to be under the Mahommedan rule for about a quarter of a century more till 1751 A.D. after the last invasion. But even if no further acts of oppression were committed on the temple, its custodians perpetually shuddered apprehending possible danger during that period. Their past experiences had taught them lessons which they could hardly forget and each day the sun sank below the horizon filling their hearts with restlessness, anxiety, and vigilant suspense. At this time, the Marāṭhās were putting forth repeated claims to the throne of Orissa; and a long series of terrible famines raged the country and death from starvation was the order of the day. Thus anarchy and lawlessness reigned supreme. Here, there, and everywhere, there were awful manifestations of disease and death and the pages of the *Mādaḷāpāñji* were replete with tearful descriptions of doleful misery and horrible sufferings. In fact, countless prosperous towns and villages in the countryside were deserted and became the hunting grounds of wild beasts. In some places, the village deities under banyan trees or in dilapidated temples and the long lines of elevated homesteads were mute witnesses to the days of former glory and prosperity. The backbone of a once independent and powerful people were already broken and these fresh disasters squeezed out their very life-blood leaving behind a ghastly skeleton, which could never come to life again and breathe the healthy air of national and political independence.

After centuries of prosperous and peaceful life under an almost aristocratic form of mild and tolerant Hindu rule established on sound principles by the famous *Gajapati Mahārājās* of Orissa, came the most unprincipled, barbarous, and despotic form of foreign Muslim rule that brought in its wake anarchy, exploitation, horrors , and depressions. The hate and distrust were so extreme that even after the introduction of the prosperous British rule, people took nearly three generations more to repose any faith or confidence in it.

About the Moghul administration in India some historians may sing paeans but in spite of the high ideals that are sought to be attributed to it, if we look upon the terrific affect that it caused in India as a whole and Orissa in particular, we must hold that, in practical terms, this system of governance proved to be a rapacious and lamentable one and thus a failure in civilized terms. The sole cause of our inability to attain national prosperity is the unfortunate vivisection of the Oriyā speaking tracts. This dismemberment of natural Orissa into various political units as well as the division of the province into *Moghulbandī* and *Garjāt* was the outcome of the crooked Mahommedan policy of divide and rule. It was by this act of supreme diplomacy that they broke the strength of the Oriyās in general which they could never have hoped to subjugate as long as the people stood united. The British only trod on the path carved out by the Mahommedans. Like the wearer who alone knows where the shoe pinches, the Oriyās' distinct and unwavering concern was always on the issues of their real weaknesses. It is on this account that we continue in our demand for national unification or the amalgamation of the Oriyā speaking tracts; and we believe, the British government will not stand in our path if ways and means could be devised for the proper administration of the future province of Orissa[4].

Although the Marāṭhās equalled and sometimes excelled the Mahommedan free-booters in their acts of oppression and plunder, they left the Temple of Jagannātha out of the sphere of their tyrannical and exploiting operations. Being orthodox Hindus, they respected the sacred shrine of Viṣṇu and left the people to pray and worship according to their own religious persuasions. Their only object was to loot and plunder and their sole god was Mammon. There are records to show that the Marāṭhā leaders adopted various measures for the improvement of the Temple of Jagannātha. They made over the management of the temple affairs to selfless Brahmins who were *brahmacārīs* (bachelors for religious reasons). These *sevaks* carried on the administration according to religious scriptures and followed traditional rules of worship and rites of Lord Jagannātha and other deities. It is further said, they made extensive endowments of landed properties to many a *maṭha* (monastery) and dedicated the produce for making offerings to the deities with a provision to distribute the *prasāda* (*persād*) among

4. Orissa became a separate state from the 1st of April 1936.

the mendicants and poor. This system of feeding the needy is still prevalent and just before sunset, one can see hundreds of people before the main entrances of almost all the principal *maṭhas* of Purī.

The British government took over the charge of this shrine from the Marāṭhās in 1803 A.D. A separate chapter of this book has been set apart for a description of the various activities of the British administration with respect to the temple which after a long period of storm and stress at last came to a state of peace, normalcy, and serenity.



V

Management of the Shrine by the Kings

Ever since the founding of the shrine of Jagannātha, the successive kings of Orissa from Gālamādhab Dev (entrusted with the temple by Indradyumna) have been recognized as the *Rāj sevāyat* proprietors having exclusive rights over its management. Upon being included as one of the *sevakas*, they performed hereditary services like *cherāpahanrā, puṣpānjali,* and *karpūra ārati.* In their absence, the services were performed by their substitutes called *Mudrastha* (or *Mudrāhasta*) selected from the *Paśupāḷaka nijog.* In addition, under the *Rāj sevāyat*, there existed in a constitutional form an aristocracy of servitors selected from Brahmins of noble birth for proper management of the temple. The spiritual preceptor and advisers were: 1. *Rājaguru Mahāpātra,* 2. *Purohit Mahāpātra,* 3. *Praharāj Mahāpātra,* 4. *Baḍapanḍā Mohāpātra,* 5. *Ācārya Mahāpātra,* 6. *Cakradhar Brahmā Mahāpātra* – all Brahmin *panḍits* well versed in *Vedas, Purāṇas, Smṛtis,* and other religious codes. They were organized into a body of a managing council presided over by the *Rājaguru Mahāpātra* with the designation of *Parichā* (*Paricāḷak*) who had general control over the affairs of the temple next only to the king. As the king's representative, he was respected in the temple as well as everywhere in the kingdom. The president had two subordinate functionaries or secretaries called *Deuḷa karaṇa* and *Paṭṭanāyaka.* Similarly, the other five members supervised respective departments having functionaries under them (one each) called *Parba karaṇa, Bhanḍār karaṇa, Koṭha karaṇa, Muda karaṇa,* and *Bhoga bisoi.* Collections from the temple lands were entrusted to *Bisois* or revenue collectors of *pergaṇās* who were directly responsible to the *Parichā* for timely transmission of the proceeds.

The treatises of *Puruṣottama Kṣetra Māhātmya, Sūta Samhitā,* and *Nīḷādri Mahodaya* bring to light the arrangements of *bhogas* and establishments of the *sevaks* in the Temple of Jagannātha. It is ascertained that there were only seven such establishments to perform rituals and festivities. The *dwadaśa yātrās* (twelve annual festivities) were also organised and started by *Mahārājā* Indradyumna.

The following were the *sevak - nijogs* or establishments:

1. The *Rāj nijog* - The *Mahārājā* of Orissa was the chief of the temple establishment and as such had special privilege to offer personal services to the holy trinity as a *sevak.* He was the *sevak* proprietor of the temple.

2. The *Ācārya nijog* - They were the *pūjāpanḍās* who were required to perform *trikāḷa ṣoḍaśopacār pūjā* of the gods and other *pūjās* daily.

3. The *Cāruhotā nijog* - They were the *sūpakārs* or *suārs* who had to cook *mahāprasād* as offering to gods.

4. The *Pātrahotā nijog* - They were the present *Patri Baḍus* who were required to arrange the requirements of *ṣodaśopacār pūjā* in proper plates and produce them before the *pūjāpanḍās* at the time of *pūjā.*

5. The *Brahmā nijog* - They were the *Parichās* who supervised the system of *bhogas* and *nītis* (feasts & festivities) of the temple directly under the *Rāj nijog.* They represented the Brahmin *Sāmanta Parichās* of the temple in name only.

6. The *Daitā nijog* - They were the descendants of the tribal devotee Viśwābasu. Their services were required at the time of *pahanḍi vijay* i.e., departure of the deities from *Ratnavedī* on the occasion of *Snānayātrā* (bathing festival) and *Rathayātrā* (car festival). They offered *aṇabasara* services in between the two *yātrās* and such other services as and when required. Moreover,they were known as the bodyguards of the gods (*Śrīaṅga rakṣakas*).

7. *Pati nijog* - They were the descendants of the famous Vidyāpati. They were the priests of gods during *aṇabasara* and later were required to dress the deities as *Paśupāḷakas.*

The *Mādaḷāpāñji* is silent as to when and under what circumstances the other *nijog sevaks* were introduced into the temple service and moreover there are no other authorities available to consult to get clues to them. It is not mentioned in any authoritative sources also if any land endowments were made to the *sevāks* and Brahmins in *Puruṣottama Kṣetra* by *Mahārājā* Indradyumna or by his successors. But the *sevak* communities have been enjoying rent-free homesteads gifted by Indradyumna to their forefathers all around the temple when *sevak* establishments were organised for the first time.

In the time of Yajāti Keśarī when *dārubrahma* idols were consecrated on the *Ratnavedī* and *sevaks* (servitors) appointed to perform feasts and festivities, some 18 new settlements - 10 to the south and west, 8 to the north and east of the temple were established. Rent free homesteads - one *māṇa* (¼ acre) each was gifted to 1268 *sevaks.* Of these, 18 *Ananta baḍus* and 9 *Pradhānī sevaks* were accommodated to carry *prasāda* and to secure punctual attendance of *sevaks* for the service in the temple respectively. To guide them in *śāstric* rituals, 18 Brahmins were also gifted

homesteads and the whole number of such *sevaks* and Brahmins were 1313 enjoying 1313 *māṇas* (328 acres) of homestead land in the township. Besides these homesteads, each was assigned one *bāṭi* (5 acres) of rent-free land in the countryside to enjoy the produce for their maintenance. Lord Jagannātha and Lord Baḷarāma were assigned 70 and 60 *bāṭis* of land respectively as their *khās dakhal* properties and 9 *bāṭis* of land were endowed to 36 local deities. The estate thus formed consisting of 1517 *bāṭis* and 13 *māṇas* in Purī town and *moffusil* areas were known as *Śrījiu's Mahāsthāna Mahāpuruṣa Pāṇigrāhī Āsthā*. It is interesting to find in the *Mādaḷāpāñji* that on special festive occasions (*parba yātrās*), these *sevaks* were to offer to the deities, *bhāta* (cooked rice), *tiaṇa* (curry), *kṣīri* (porridge), and *piṭhā* (pancake) prepared in their houses and the *Ananta Baḍus* carried these *upana prasāda* as *parba yātrā bhogas* from the houses of the *sevaks*. In all Brahmin *śāsans* such *upana bhogas* were cooked in the houses of Brahmins and carried to village deities and later served for consumption by the masses. This system was even prevalent in Jagannātha temple in ancient times when there were inadequate endowments of lands to gods.

That Yajāti Keśarī at once engaged 1268 *brāhmana sevaks* on re-establishment of the *Puruṣottama Kṣetra* shows that they were engaged in separate groups that had their existence in the temple before the gods were entombed in Sonepur jungle. The *Pāñji* writer should have classified these groups. Yajāti is said to have scrupulously asked the *paṇḍits* who in turn advised him according to *Smṛtis* and other *Dharma Śāstras* in re-establishing the *Martya-vaikunṭha*. The author is led to believe that many of these *nijogs* had their existence since the time of Indradyumna and maintained till Sobhan Dev. The descendants of the *sevaks*, who had deserted the services and preferred other professions elsewhere, reappeared after generations. They set forth their claims and lawful rights of services their forefathers extended and these were restored to them on proper tests. Groups of such *sevaks* or *nijogs* upon their engagement reoriented themselves in a short period.

The popular *Puruṣottama Kṣetra* re-established by Yajāti was earlier known as *Brahmapurī* after Brahmā. Its later name Purī appears to have been its abbreviation. That Raktabāhu attacked it by sea establishes the fact that it was a convenient seaport and foreigners probably visited it also by sea both for pilgrimage and commercial purposes. A greater portion of the sandy tract on the coast outside the limits of the newly founded town is known as *Cakratīrtha* (shrine of Viṣṇu's discus). *Puruṣottama Kṣetra* is also yet known by its second name as *Cakratīrtha* and was once visited by the renowned Chinese traveller Hiuen Tsiāng. He recorded it in his memoirs as Caritra or Celitālo and as a great seaport in the southeast of Utkal. But the conservative Buddhist was all silent on this Hindu shrine.

During the time of Anaṅgabhīma Dev II who rebuilt the temple for the fourth time, minister *Parāmahaṅsa* Vājpeyī Mahāpātra remodelled the town and reorganized the *sevak nijogs*. The details of endowments made out of the town lands are provided elsewhere for general information (Appendix- D). It was in his time that 18 *brāhmaṇa* settlements around the temple founded by Yajāti Keśarī were remodelled and changed into seven *Sāhis* (greater residential villages) known as:1. Bāli Sāhi, 2. Jameśwarpur Sāhi, 3. Kapāḷeśwar Sāhi, 4. Cudaṅga Sāhi, 5. Doḷamanḍap Sāhi, 6. Kāḷikādebi Sāhi, 7. Kunḍhāibenta Sāhi. The total area gifted by him in the town was 232 *bāṭis* and 5 *māṇas* of land of which 41 *bāṭis* were given to *sevaks*, 6 *bāṭis* and 6 *māṇas* to *brāhmaṇas*, 2 *bāṭis* and 12 *māṇas* to 52 *Sanyāsī maṭhas*, 1 *bāṭi* to two *Mudrastha maṭhas*, 20 *bāṭis* to *śūdra prajās*, 7 *bāṭis* to *kumbhārs*, 3 *bāṭis* to the *Parichā* and *Parbakaraṇa*, 4 *bāṭis* to the *Ratha* of Purī and his relatives who consecrated the temple, 4 *bāṭis* to the temple, 2 *bāṭis* to the *Gunḍicā Mandir*, 130 *bāṭis* for *toṭās* (gardens) for Lord Jagannātha and Lord Baḷarāma, and the remaining 10 *bāṭis* and 7 *māṇas* to other deities of the town and for Śwetagaṅga, Indradyumna, and Mārkanḍa tanks. It is to be noticed here that Narendra tank was not yet excavated. It was afterwards excavated out of Jagannātha's garden lands by Paṭṭajoṣi Narendra Mahāpātra, minister of King Kabi Narasiṃha Dev.

Out of the *maṭhas* then at Purī, 52 were for *sanyāsīs*, 14 were for Oriyās, 12 for Andhraites, 8 each for Marāṭhās and Dravids, 5 for Kānaṅgīs, 3 for Heṅguḷās, and 2 for Gauḍiyas. Among these, 30 were *Ekadanḍī*, 15 were *Manodanḍī*, and 7 were *Tridanḍī maṭhas*. *Mudrastha mathas* namely Viṣṇuśarmā and Aṅgiśarmā were known for the worship of Jagannātha and Baḷabhadra respectively. Each *sanyāsī* had a daily allowance of *mahāprasād* and received an annual payment of some *māḍhas* from the temple treasury. They lived in a very simple and unostentatious style and each having only one *brahmācarī* to look after him as attendant. Nowhere any special endowments of lands ever assigned to *maṭhas* are traced which in other words indicates the nonexistence of so many conflicting sectarian *maṭhas* excepting those of the *Śaṅkar* sect which had their origin and growth long after their sectarian leaders visited Purī and established themselves. The Jagannātha Ballabha is one of the temple's grand gardens which once occupied 130 *bāṭis* in the town. Subsequent kings assigned land for gardens and residential quarters to the erstwhile *mahantas* (monks) of the present *maṭhas* in Purī out of these large park lands for charitable purposes.

Besides the homestead lands in the town, Anaṅgabhīma Dev II also gifted away 1364 *bāṭis* of rentfree land in the countryside over and above those given by Yajāti and his successors to *sevaks* for their livelihood. This is besides the annual *bartans* (salaries) in gold coins from the temple fund. Thus the

total area of rentfree land in the country for the maintenance of the *sevaks* gifted by Yajāti and Anaṅgabhīma was 2660 *bāṭis* exclusive of such lands gifted by the great number of intervening kings. Rentfree homestead land in the town to live in and a vast area of arable lands in the countryside for maintenance in addition to annual salaries given to the *sevaks* clearly testifies to their unostentatious but comfortable living. These measures speak amply of the benevolence and magnanimity of these kings and their attitude towards the servitors. It also presents a clue to similar advantages enjoyed by other servants of the state under Gaṅga kings of Orissa.

The remodelling of the town, from Anaṅgabhīma Dev II to the present municipal improvements, were not carried out on a regular plan. As a typical Hindu locality, it is a specimen of huge confusion and disorder unlike those founded by the Moghuls and the British elsewhere. Except the long pre-existing grand road passing bow bent for obvious reasons from the Lions' gate to the Guṇḍicā house, the other streets irregular as they are in shape and undulating are neither spacious nor have wide curvatures. The *kandis* (by-lanes) are more awkwardly mis-shaped with countless bendings quite unfit for traffic. Houses in most places are seen uncontrollably projecting over streets and lanes where sufficient areas were once assigned for gardens but later gifted away to *maṭhas*. The spacious royal domain along the seabeach which is now being leased out to the intending tenants in parts remained unexplored then. The location of the houses in the town presents on the whole a picture of a disorderly position taken up by a swarm of mercenary rabble army at intervals currently on a temporary rest before their march to a distant field. Its ill construction all round the temple without any plan whatsoever despite a spacious healthy tract on the seaside shows utter ignorance of decency in the art of founding towns and absence of an idea of comfortable habitation with free ventilation, good accommodation, and especially with reasonable concern towards sanitation. The foundation of good many villages in the country by later *Bhoi* kings of Orissa rather reveals much better improvements as regards the selection of the sites and development of necessary facilities for a comfortable living.

Under the command of Anaṅgabhīma Dev II, the *bhoga* system was also reorganized by *Paramahaṅsa* Vājpeyī Mahāpātra who had estimated the annual expenditure on *bhogas*, *yātrās*, and the *bartans* (the annual salaries) of the *sevaks* and others at 1,20,000 *māḍhas*. When Purī *Nāyaka*, the head assistant of *Parichā* put up the estimate, the king did not approve the Brahminical extravagancy. He remarked that the system should be reorganized so as to make it stand for all time to come and the amount was reduced to 40,000 *māḍhas* i.e., 1 / 3 of the amount originally estimated. To finance the revised scheme, permanent endowments of lands were sanctioned out of the royal domain to yield

the requisite sum in addition to those already made by Keśarī kings and the previous kings of the Gaṅga dynasty. Anaṅgabhīma Dev endowed 8423 *bāṭis* of land and the grand total of such endowments being 13,832 *bāṭis* of land and 600 *kāhāṇas* of cowry. The annual income from this estate thus assigned to Lord Jagannātha was 40,000 *māḍhas* of gold coins (Appendix- E).

The subsequent endowments by kings after Anaṅgabhīma Dev II down to Mukund Dev (the last independent king of Orissa) were 10,733 *bāṭis* of *bhāga* paying lands besides those that paid 24,989 *kāhāṇas* of cowries (equivalent to 1,666 *māḍhas* @ 15 *kāhāṇas* per *māḍha*). Thus, the grand total of Jagannātha's *bhāga* paying lands were 24,565 *bāṭis* in all besides 25,589 *kāhāṇas* of cowries collected from homestead lands in some *bises* of *perganās*, the area of which is not traced. These 10,733 *bāṭis* being of different *dastis* current in Orissa generated 32,199 *māḍhas* (at the average rate of three *māḍhas* from each *bāṭi*). When Orissa passed from the hands of Mukund Dev to Mahommedans, the net income of Jagannātha's estate annually was Rs. 3, 69,325/- (income from the lands during Anaṅgabhīma Deb's reign, 40,000 *māḍhas* +1,666 *māḍhas* + 32,199 *māḍhas* = 73,865 *māḍhas* @ Rs. 5/- per *māḍha* or ½ *toḷā* gold coin). Additional income by way of *pinḍikā*[1] (or presents to gods) and temple's miscellaneous revenues must have been about a lakh of rupees. Thus the net income on all heads was over Rs 4½ lakh.

The total expenditure on offerings to gods in the time of Anaṅgabhīma Dev II was 22,010 (18750+3260) *māḍhas* equivalent to Rs.1,10,050/- annually. As the scales of *bhogas* were enhanced during the rule of later kings, they made additional endowments of land. By the time of Mukund Deb, the return was calculated at 33,865 *māḍhas* equivalent to Rs.1,69,325/-. A sum of Rs.1,60,000/- was the additional expense on the enhanced scale of *bhogas* introduced from time to time. The net expenditure on the head of actual *bhogas* was Rs.2,70,050/- (Rs1,10,050+Rs1,60,000) annually. Out of the offerings a very small share was distributed among 52 *Sanyāsīs*, 2 *Mudrasthas*, and *Muktimanḍapa brāhmaṇas* daily; and expenses to house and feed the helpless patients (both pilgrims and natives) were also met from the sale proceeds of offerings. If all these charges are calculated with other such charitable expenses (if not exceeding Rs 70,000/-), the net balance of sale proceeds of offerings at the close of the year must have been about two lakh of rupees. Each *nijog* of *sevaks* had a *bartana* (or annual salary) from the temple funds separately allotted to them for their services but no information is yet forthcoming as to the Rs two lakh from the sale proceeds of *koṭhabhoga*. This amount probably went to king's

1. The offerings made by devotees and pilgrims before the deities and those made in the name of the Lord in other premises of the Temple. It may be in the form of cash, jewellery, and clothes.

personal accounts known as *caṅgaḍā* funds.

During Mahommedan rule when over ¾ of the temple's estate was confiscated by their governors, the scales of *bhoga* were reduced and for want of funds no annual cash payments could be made to *nijogs* as before. But servitors were individually given a daily '*kheyi*' (a portion of the already offered *bhoga* as wage) and permitted to haggle at their '*jajamānas*' (or pilgrims) without any interference from the temple authorities. The last introduced *kheyi* system of wages is still in force and receiving *āṭīkā*[2] or *annadāna* in *Koili vaikunṭha* from pilgrims continues unabated.

From time to time, the *Rāj sevāyats* of the present *Bhoi* dynasty had in fact suffered much and sustained heavy losses for three centuries in upholding the sanctity of the shrine during Mahommedan rule. They were dispossessed of the majority of the temple estate that had an annual income of more than Rs 2 lakh since the time of King Anaṅgabhīma Dev II and over Rs 3 ½ lakh in the time of King Mukund Dev when Orissa lost her independence. The lands of the temple lying scattered throughout the province, except a small portion that had fallen beyond their ill defined kingdom, were confiscated by Mahommedan governors. Their repeated prayers to repossess those lands for the maintenance of the temple were, in reality, met with dead denials and resolve on the part of the ruling power to demolish it. In consequence of which numerous predatory incursions were made to plunder its treasures and to destroy the *dārubrahma* idols. Its *bhanḍārs* (treasury) comprising of gold and silver jewellery, costly robes, utensils of precious metals, and rare gemstones received from pilgrims; and kings who had invariably allotted their *caṅgaḍā* funds (from the state surplus revenue) in purchasing precious ornaments for the gods were all looted with inhuman barbarism meted out to the trustees. It was also in one such occasions that the *Kanaka manḍapa* (the golden canopy), the gold sheet coating over the the sacred throne of gods and the round stone seats were carried away. If hoardings of the *bhandārs* are valued at approximately Rs 4 lakh a year then Rs 4 crore is the valuation of such hoards in a century and the accumulations from the time of Anaṅgabhīma Dev II to the last independent king Mukund Dev are to be valued at Rs 16 crores. Ironically, these were plundered by Kaḷāpāhāra *et al.* If the picture appears somewhat overdrawn then even if it was half or one third (say Rs. 8 or 5 crore), it was sufficient to overwhelm men with greed to adopt highhanded policies as were done by the then paramount Mahommedan power in India.

2. *Panḍās* often receive a kind of donation (the amount is never disclosed to others) called *āṭikā* from the pilgrims for a special *bhoga* for Jagannātha according to the expressed desire of the donors.

However, nearly all attempts on the part of the proverbial enemies of gods for three centuries to destroy the *dārubrahma* idols were fruitless as the then reigning kings, the managing Brahmin council, and the *sevaks* took pre-emptive measures to conceal their sacred and most revered idols in out-of-way places just before attacks and took utmost care to prevent the aggressors from getting clues to their whereabouts. For these purposes two permanent establishments of *boitas* or *bujrows* (boats), one at Dobandhā and the other at Māṇikapātṇā, were kept on alert to carry them away. The authorities of the ill-fated Somanāth temple on the western coast and the other Hindu shrines of importance including the Mahākāl temple of Ujjain had forewarned the kings of Orissa to have recourse to such permanent measures as are traced to have been in existence since the time of Anaṅgabhīma Dev II. The royal houses somehow maintained the temple from the revenue of their very small kingdom as the income from lands then reduced to one sixteenth part of its former proportion was quite insufficient even to bear the considerably reduced expenditure.

With the commencement of the Marāṭhā rule in Orissa (1751 A.D.), the royal family was deprived of its legitimate power; dethroned, it nearly lost its all in recklessly trying to regain the territories. Because of family misunderstanding, the *rājā* or influential *zamindār* of Khimiḍi (Khemunḍi) in the district of Gunjām attacked Khurdā and dispossessed Bīrakiśore Dev I. He, in distress, asked for help from the Marāṭhā governor of Cuttack and promised to pay a lakh of rupees in return. But before the Marāṭhā mercenary forces could reach Khurdā, the intruder withdrew carrying away all the royal treasures. Although reseated on the throne, the *rājā* could pay nothing towards his obligations and in lieu of that he mortgaged the outlying portion of his territories in Purī sub-division together with the Temple of Jagannātha and fourteen *gurjāt* states under him for some years. The Marāṭhās never relinquished these possessions setting forth diverse pleas and handed over the charge of the temple to their spiritual preceptors called *Brahmācārī Goswāmīs* displacing the former *Parichā* and his managing council. However, during the Marāṭhā supremacy, the kings of Khurdā had only the hereditary rights of the *Sevāyat* proprietor of the temple and as such performed services of *cherā pahaṁrā* etc till they were restored to their former status with full controlling powers by the British Government in 1840 A.D.



VI

Sevak Establishment of the Temple

The numerous works of public utility in the shape of embankments, culverts, roads shaded with trees on both sides and *serāis* at intervals, ponds with walls in their vicinity throughout the country, reclamation of waste lands for agriculture, establishment of villages and rent free Brahmin *śāsans*, survey and settlement of land revenue, construction of forts, reorganization of a strong military force and a grand system for the defence and administration of the kingdom, and erection of temples with liberal endowments of land for their support throughout the *Gajapati* Orissa (then extending from the Ganges to the Godāvarī) were executed by the great affable king Anaṅgabhīma Dev II of which many, still in existence here and there, proclaim the greatness and magnanimity of his noble heart and reflect the rich lifestyle of those bygone days. Sooner or later all these died out of the memory of the people together with his belligerence and exploits. But the Jagannātha Temple, the reorganization of its feasts, festivities, rituals, and its *sevak* establishment have gained for him a name next to Indradyumna till posterity as a great and wise king. *Paramahaṅsa* Vājpeyī Mahāpātra - the *brāhmaṇa* minister who supervised the construction of the Temple and the author of its whole system will ever stand next to the *Mahārājā* as a worthy minister of a worthy king. It is because of their devotion and far-sight that this shrine which unites the followers of different Hindu sects e.g., *Vaiṣṇavas*, *Śaivas*, *Śāktas*, *Souras*, and *Gāṇapatyas* etc into one (so long as the *purāṇic* form of Hinduism holds sway as the religion of the Hindu world) continues to draw large streams of pilgrims and votaries for *darśan* of the presiding deities from all parts of India.

Paṇḍit Nīḷādri Baḍapaṇḍā the author of the *Nīḷādri mahodaya* [1] – the religious code regulating Jagannātha's feasts, festivities, and rituals etc. to their minute details - is said to have been a member of the then *Paṇḍā nijog* of the temple. It was

1. Printed and published by H.H. the *Mahārājā* Bīra M. Singh Deb, K.C.I.E., M.R.A.S. of the Sonepur state (now in Orissa).

probably compiled in his time from various *Purāṇas* and local extant religious texts consequent to the temple's enlarged system effected by *Paramahańsa* Vājpeyī. But the compiler while zealously dealing with the rituals etc. analysed the issues from a spiritual perspective but sadly failed to write about its functionaries. A table of *sevak* establishments and the particulars of services rendered in the time of Anaṅgabhīma Dev II is provided elsewhere and the system speaks for itself (Appendix-F). All necessary arrangements of *sevaks* independent of one another were incorporated to maintain high standard of *seva* (services) in accordance with *śāstric* injunctions. Vājpeyījī is not solely to be credited for this reorganization as the system had long been in existence probably since the time of Indradyumna. He, for the time being, only improved and enlarged the then existing system maintained ever since Yajāti who in turn had imitated the one organized by Indrayumna. The initial *'Chatiśā nijogs'* (36 *nijogs*) enagaged since Indradyumna's time were enlarged to 129 *nijogs* by *Paramahańsa* Vājpeyī and to 147 *nijogs* by subsequent kings. Yet the original group of *sevaks* engaged is traced on a closer examination of the table. All *sevaks* of this group except the *daitās* (the descendants of the famous devotee Biśwabasu including *Mukha siṇhārīs*, the face painters) were *brāhmaṇas*. In the additional *nijogs*, there were *brāhmaṇas* and *śūdras* but they had no direct services to offer to gods as distinguished from those being done by other *sevaks*. They were probably mere servants engaged in different services other than being god's actual *sevaks*. Amongst the so many Brahmin *nijogs*, the *śastriya brāhmaṇas* were introduced into only two *nijogs* viz., the *Bīṇākar nijog* to play *bīṇā* (a musical instrument) before the deities and the *Purāṇa paṇḍā nijog* to read out *Purāṇas* to the deities. Whereas the former service is being known as *Nāradīya sevā*, the latter seems to have long been extinct.

Introduction of *Devadāsīs* (virgins dedicated to the Lord) into the temple services is an antique institution in India resembling *apsarās* (celestial beauties) in heaven. The number of *Causaṭhi sampradāya nijog* (sixtyfour group) *devadāsīs* engaged in singing and dancing might have been 320 even if each group consisted of at least five girls. Traveller Oderic had described them as singing in procession during car festivals over a hundred years after the *nijogs* were recognized. The system of *sevaks* speaks something more to an earnest observer. The proprietary right of *sevā* to gods is subject to the sanction of the king who is the *Sevāyat* proprietor. From him or his representative (Brahmin *Parichā*), the *sevaks* except the *Daitās* and the *Suārs* (cooks) get a *śāḍhī* (sacred cloth tied round the head) after a ceremonial performed in the temple to make them eligible for services. But the presence of *Daitās* and *Suārs* in the groups of *sevaks* exclusively privileged to render services (each independent of the other) has strengthened their voice of being given hereditary proprietary rights as *sevaks*. The temple administration, as it is, is a system of hereditary aristocracy.

Each *sevak nijog* has convocation of its own with a *Nāyaka* (president) as the head to discuss matters relating to their *sevā*. The exclusive privileges of service to god by one *nijog* are respected and never encroached upon by any other *nijog* nor generally interfered with by the *Rāj sevāyat* proprietor. When called for, they are duty bound to perform their respective *sevā* on time. But as their number is very large in some cases and some *sevaks* have to serve for nearly four and five days only in a year, they are forewarned and reminded before hand by the *pāik* staff. On ordinary non-festive occasions, the number of *sevaks* including the *suārs* required to perform their *sevā* is nearly two hundred. The success of the system can be best illustrated when a temple *pāik* with a small cane in hand calls out the *sevaks* required at a particular time to perform their *sevā*. His command at the *Beharaṇa dwāra* is obeyed by them irrespective of their position and reputation. But punctuality and discipline are found wanting in the service providers who often steal time to the inconvenience of all.

Moreover, each of the two establishments of the town physician and the surgeon - *nijogs* of *Kṣetra Baidya* and *Śāstra Baidya* - is a pronounced manifestation of the high character of administrative system in as much as their services are rendered to pilgrims also. The system of housing and feeding the helpless patients under treatment best evinces its uniformity then prevalent throughout the kingdom of Gajapati kings of Orissa in those bygone eras. *Paṇḍit* Māguṇi Miśra Brahmā is now performing the traditional *Baidya sevā* and offers *daśamuḷa* [2] to the deities during their sickness consequent to ceremonial bath on *Snānayātrā*.

The present management of the temple borrowed from the Gaṅga period, ultimately traces its origin to the glorious institutions of the *Keśarī* kings. It is but a typical relic of the state administration of Orissa introduced and maintained by those kings. People were loyal to the king and the latter had granted greater liberty and privileges to the former and the state servants were almost all hereditary but subject to dismissal on gross misconduct. They had greater share in administration and organised themselves into a body of aristocracy. But the king was, however, the great fountain-head of authorities. Dynasties after dynasties had passed from hand to hand but the administratve system of those palmy days of independence is still visible in its original form in the Temple of Jagannātha.

To speak the truth, such a system had its origin in high standards of honesty, truthfulness, and conservatism of the people and in the king's benevolence (e.g., willing descendants of deceased servants were allowed to seamlessly enter into his relation's profession). Thus a class of hereditary servants was gradually organized

2. Traditional medicine prepared through *Śāstric* rituals out of the parts of ten different plants / trees e.g., *bael* (*Aegle marmelos*), *gambhāri* (*Gmelina arborea*), *aṅkarānti* (*Solanum xanthocarpum*), and *śāḷaparṇī* (*Desmodium gangeticum*) etc and offered on *Āṣādha Ekādaśī* to the deities.

who played their parts well to the satisfaction of the kings. As many of such servants are deficient in virtues of humanity, they are at present a source of trouble to their masters whom they have been serving from time immemorial and to whom they owe their authority and existence. The greatest blunder which could have been avoided by *Paramahansa* Vājpeyī was the recognition of exclusive privileges of rendering services enjoyed by each *nijog* so much as not to be bestowed to any other *nijog* or any outsider even under the orders of the authorities. This system borrowed from the bygone administrative principles of the Gajapati kings lacks farsighted wisdom and equity. As concomitant of such gross defects in the system, a great deal of inconvenience is often being felt in bringing them under control as *sevaks* or servants; and often the authorities have to yield to their will. Fines and *bāsanda* (depriving someone to perform *sevā*) are the punishments inflicted but even in the latter case, none else but a member of the same *nijog* (to which the offender belongs to) is entitled to serve as a substitute till the offender is released on proper atonement. A servitor awarded *bāsanda* for life for serious misconduct is often considered for reinstatement. Even claims put forward by the son of such an offender are not overlooked in the restoration of his father's services.

Under the *Rāj sevāyat* proprietor (*Rāj nijog*), the *nijog* of *Paśupāḷakas*[3] (god's dressers) is the nominal head of the entire *nijog* establishment with a hereditary title of Paṭṭjoṣī Mahāpātra. He as the next sub-ordinate to the *Rāj nijog* who carries on publicly in the temple the *śāḍhibandhan* of all *sevaks* (except the *daitās* and*suārs*) as directed.The *Paśupāḷakas* are the only privileged *aṅgasevaks* who can touch the *bigrahas* (idols) at any time. The *Pūjāpanḍās* are so privileged at the time of *pujā* only. If any other *sevak* accidentally touches the gods, a *mahāsnāna* is occasioned. The unquestionable exclusive rights of *sevaks* except the *nijogs* of minor importance and the most liberal sentiment of the *Rājā* can not be better established than from the fact that since time immemorial the so called *chatiśā nijog nāyaka* i.e. the Paṭṭajoṣi Mahāpātra family is hereditarily the keeper of the triplicate key of the Temple *bhanḍār.*

The *Daitā sevaks*, as the descendants of Biśwabasu (who worshipped Nīḷamādhaba Dev) are the loved ones of Jagannātha. They are the body builders of gods during *nabakaḷevar* and as such they are also the occasional frame repairers. From the commencement of *Pahanḍi vijay* of the deities (departure from the *Ratnasiṃhasana* on account of *Snānayātra*) till *Nīḷādri vijay* (following car festival), they are the absolute caregivers and *aṅgasevaks* like *Paśupāḷakas.* The offerings made to the deities during this period are their dues and no other *sevak* nor do the temple authorities stake claim over it. They have been given

3. *Paśupāḷakas* are now known as *Puṣpāḷakas*. These early non-*brāhmin sevaks* were referred to as '*paśāpāḷakas*' in an inscription of Coḍagaṅga Dev (circa 1114/1115 A.D.)

from time immemorial rentfree lands somewhat as *jāgir* to meet the expenses of *cāhiā bhoga.* Such indulgence, towards *daita sevaks* indicates the usages prevalent from Biśwābasu's time. They are also exempted from the obligation of *śāḍhībandhan* without which normally no one else except *suārs* can serve the deities as *sevaks.* Their income in those days as *sevaks* was divided equally among the male members from the infant to the aged. This peculiarity compels one to recall the practices of ancient days when each male member of the family was given equitable advantage over joint produce before the complicated partition laws came into existence. This is still in force without a shadow of dispute amongst the *daitās* in the distribution of their earnings. Very simple, artless, and credulous in nature, these aborigine servitors had such usages amongst them when Biśwabasu and his men were introduced into the temple as *Daitā sevaks* by Indradyumna. I am told such a practice is yet prevalent amongst some aborigines living in dense woods beyond the pale of the Aryan jurisdiction.

As undue advantages are given to the *daita sevaks* for being the descendants of the great Biśwabasu, Lakṣmī (goddess of wealth)seems reluctant to tolerate it. Not to speak of the festive occasions, even when their services are required on the *ratnasiṃhāsana*, Lakṣmī goes out of the lap of Jagannātha and prefers rather a separate room. On the occasion of *nabakaḷevara*, these so called *Lakṣmīchaḍā sevaks* perform the funeral ceremony of gods. They observe ten days mourning. They fast, bathe, shave, and put on new clothes as the kinsmen of a deceased do and sanctify themselves as such according to *Śāstras.* They are hence known as Jagannātha's kinsmen. Being *śabars* (non-Aryan aborigines), they were formerly isolated and confined to a locality identified as *Daitāparā Sāhi* and guarded by a strong gate known yet as *Baḍadwāra.* So bizarre was the unrighteous distinction even to a famous devotee and his descendants passes comprehension. Over the years however their status has improved.

The *suārs* (*brahmāṇa* cooks) are really very active and hard working among the *sevaks.* Their number is nearly one third of the whole *sevak* community. They cook *bhogas* in the kitchen and whenever *dhūpa* is ordered for, they readily carry the same to the gods and are scarcely criticized for either being absent or late. But as a community, they are pretty conspicuous by their peculiar behaviour amongst the *sevaks.* Many are addicted to *bhāṅga* (*Cannabis indica*) which stupefies their senses.

The *sevaks* of *Pūjāpanḍā nijog* are known as *Sāmanta* (chief) because they are the *ācāryas* of the institution. Many of them are traced to be belonging to the families of *Stotrīya* class of Brahmins once employed in the temples. As *debalkas* (temple servants), they were in the past ex-communicated from the community of such Brahmins but were always eager to associate themselves with *sevak brahmāṇas.* The *Paṭṭajoṣī Mahāpātra* family and the *Batchasa Mahāpātra* family of Bālisāhi belonged to the *Stotrīya* stock of Brahmins. The latter and some of the

pūjāpaṇḍā families are the descendants of those five Brahmins who cut the banyan tree over the tomb of gods in Gopāḷi jungles (Sonepur) and helped Yajāti in retrieving Them.

Sevaks in general belong to the primitive stock of *Astrobiya* Brahmins who never practised Vedic rituals even from ancient times and were engaged as mercenary Brahmins from time immemorial as servants of temples and classed as *debalka*. Although few of them are found to be educated in Sanskrit or English, many are literate, considerate, and have sense of duty and responsibility and do belong to a typical class of gentlemen. But the speciality marked with many of them is that they are simple in habits, have profound faith in Jagannātha, and never compromise in their services to gods. With of course some honourable exceptions, *sevaks* squander much in *bhāṅga*, *sāṅga (*camaraderie), *saṅgīta* (music), and *paṅgata* (mass feasts) in their *jāgās* (leisure centres). They also do not hesitate in spending money for religious and charitable purposes. In the past, *jāgās* were established as centers of social activities and physical culture. Each served primarily as a local cultural centre to reflect on issues of social relevance, to impart physical training to the younger ones, and to organise *Sāhīyātrā*. It needs to be mentioned here that *sevaks* do co-operate with the temple's *Rāmanavamī* festivities in the month of *Cāitra*; and train *Goṭipuas* (dancing boys) with accompanying musicians during *Candana* and *Jhulaṇa* festivities. These obligations they still discharge faithfully and regularly.

Under Gaṅga dynasty some of those Brahmin *sevaks* were said to have rendered exceptional services and were awarded honourary titles of *Mahāpātra, Pāṭṭajoṣi Mahāpātra, Pāṭachatra Mahāpātra, Raiguru, Baḍapaṇḍā Sāmanta*, and the like, which their descendants still hold. The *Batchasa Mahāpātra* family yet performs a nominal honourary ceremony of *Abhiṣeka* - a special privilege granted to none - for some special political services rendered in those palmy days. Land endowments given in perpetuity as rewards to some *sevaks* are still in their possession. These *sevaks* are comparatively better. They are considerate men of position and have the appearance of being *naiṣṭhic* (austere) Brahmins in their manners and behaviour. The *sevak* communities are not pure *Vaiṣṇavas*. They are at heart *Śāktas* and worship nearly all the known manifestations of Lord *Śiva* and *Śakti* in some form in their houses following ritualistic traditions. They have their *Smārta* preceptor to impart them *mantras*. As *Vaiṣṇavas*, very few of them are either the followers of Caitanya, Rāmānuja, or Rāmānanda. As a hard and fast rule, the blind, deaf, dumb, leper, disfigured (*aṅgahīna*), and the depraved (*patita*) found in any *nijog* are disallowed from performing services to Gods.



VII

Daily Rituals of the Deities

The Taḍhau (Bhanḍār) Karaṇa and Deuḷa (Parba) Karaṇa of the temple are the writers and record keepers of the daily rituals and festivities of Lord Jagannātha, but the former being solely responsible for their timely and proper execution. As their services became hereditary and they had to undergo the *śāḍhibandhan* ceremonial, they were included in the group of *sevak* establishments later on. In reality, they are not *sevaks* and perform no *sevā* or direct services to gods. They have indeed preserved voluminous records from time immemorial not in the temple but in their respective houses. Both these functionaries now have five families and each family has got or preserved a vast hoard of palm-leaf records known as the *Mādaḷāpāñji.* The keepers explain, these records are called as such because these were tied together in the shape of *mādaḷas* or *mārdaḷas* and hung down from beams of the houses. None could give any other explanation beyond supporting them. *Mahāmahopādhyāy Panḍit* Sadāśib Miśra accepts their explanation in his "*Jagannātha Mandir* " - a Bengalee pamphlet.

A passage from Stirling (1846) has cleared out my doubts. He addressed these records as *Manḍaḷa pañjikā* but did not offer any reason as to how he made *mādaḷa* into *manḍaḷa.* My explanation is that *Puruṣottama kṣetra* is shaped like a *śankha* (conch, see the sketch) and since the *Ratnabedī* (the throne of god) stands on its *nābhi* (navel), the temple is called *Śankhānābhi manḍaḷa.* As these *Pāñjis* (records) are incidentally the records of such a *manḍaḷa,* these are called *Manḍaḷa pañjīkā.* It incorporates within itself as much information as it really requires in connection with the temple's events, rituals, feasts, and festivities. Such diaries as were being written in my presence during my few months temple services were as very insignificant as containing no noteworthy information; and the events which should have been carefully recorded passed unnoticed. The upkeep of such records and their later compilations appears to have been carelessly made without deliberate consideration by little literate and inconsiderate recorders who, as it seems,

were quite incapable of understanding the situations and events connected with their function. As it is, very little reliance may be placed on the total information recorded by them which on their very face seem absurd and incredible.

With all its deficiencies, this compilation is still a valued record as it presents bare bones of a few historic facts. It seems, its maintenance had its origin in some shape since the days of Indradyumna, but it was certainly lost during the period of Raktabāhu and his successors spanning for about 146 years. When it was revived during the time of Yajāti, the annals were fabulously written from some *Purāṇas*. But the little historic information that it affords is that the shrine was founded by Indradyumna who had erected a grand temple which overgrown with trees in its tottering state was rebuilt by a king named Saśoka Dev. There is no reason to discredit its truth although traced from within an ocean of imaginary entries as the writer has every reason to know of its truth from traditions on the lips of the people. In its subsequent maintenance from Yajāti down to the end of his line of kings, the writers seem to have correctly given the names of successive kings only although its chronology is mostly incorrect. From Gaṅga dynasty to the British rule in Orissa, it supplies alongwith correct chronology a bare outline of facts (though a few, yet historic & trustworthy) based on events in connection with the temple and the country.

I had attempted for some days to collect valuable and noteworthy data, if any, from the hoards of these palm-leaf records. But the confused and clumsy way of their disposition and their quite deranged system, exhausted my patience and I had no sufficient time to properly handle them. Hence, I put off the question for some favourable time to come, as I believe much clue towards antiquities of Orissa especially of the Temple might be forthcoming from them. The outline of many facts I have incorporated was obtained from a portion of these deficiently compiled records viz., a manuscript which I found with *Paṇḍit* Sadāśib Miśra. The flesh and bone of some others are based firstly on such local traditions and legends I got from a number of old and experienced men as have all the appearance of being facts; and secondly,on investigation of the origin of some traditions of the temple.

The rituals (*nītis*) and the feasts and festivities of the temple conducted by *Carcā Amin* under the direct control of *Taḍhau* and *Deuḷa Karaṇa* are so numerous that unless one has a close watch over them for at least one complete year, those can hardly be comprehensible before it can be explained to others. The author in his few months of temple services sketched out an outline of many of them, which at the end was lost to him. If they are all compiled with annotations to their *Śāstric* origin in the *Vedas* and *Purāṇas*, the records will fill volumes. In order to avoid making this work bulky, a few ordinary rituals of the temple are briefly recorded here for the readers' knowledge.

Very early in the morning at about 4.30 or 5 A.M. the *Dwārā Udghātana* or door

opening ceremony is performed and the *Carcā* staff secures the attendance of some *sevaks* who are generally clad after bath in two pieces of *maṭhā* or *makuṭā*. If the clothes worn by them are of cotton and not silk then these should have been washed and dried. Upon reaching *Jaya -Vijay* door, *Bhitarachu sevak* examines the seal put by *Taḷachu sevak* on padlocks at the time of last night's *pahuḍa* (sleep of gods) and directs the *Mudulī sevak* (the key man) to open the door. Before this ceremony, a number of *bābājīs* or devotees from Baḍachatā *maṭha* assemble in *Jagamohaṇa* near outer wooden barrier before the *Jaya -Vijaya dwār* and cause a crescendo of *kīrtana* with sounds of *gini* and *mṛdaṅga*. Numerous devotees bathed and clean clad rush into the temple to see the Lord's *Maṅgaḷa āratī* and from this moment the flow of devotees gradually increases. Just after the doors are opened,*Akhāṇḍa mekāpa* (the light man), *Khunṭiā* (the bodyguard & garland man), *Pratihārī* (the door keeper), *Khaṭaśeja Mekāpa* (the bed servants) along with *Muduli*, *Bhitarachu*, and *Paḷiā Mekāpa* (another bodyguard with greater share of responsibilities) enter the *Mukhaśāḷā* temple (the porch) and the door is again closed from inside. The *baiṭhās* (lamps) are lighted and the floor within is minutely inspected to make out if there had been any occasion of *mahāsnāna* i.e., if any unclean things such as chewed betel, spit etc. had been thrown by anyone before the door was closed the previous night (although such a routine inspection was made then). The padlocks of *bhanḍār* doors and the *Kaḷārāta* door (the innermost door facing *Maṇikoṭha*) of the great Temple are also examined to verify if they had been tampered with.

Then *Pratiharī* in a thunderous voice pours forth about seven or eight minutes *maṇimā ḍākas* (very loud calls to wake up the deities from sleep) at *Kaḷārata* (also called *Kaḷāhāṭa*) *dwār* as it is daybreak. Then the door is opened and *Maṇikoṭha* is inspected. In the presence of the *Pati Khuntiā*, *Paḷiā Mekāpa* takes charge of *Śrīaṅgas* (images of the deities) with jewellery (if any) and costly robes worn on. Leaving *Mekāpa* in the *Maṇikoṭha*, *Khuntiā* goes out with *Pratihāri* and when the latter reopens the *Jaya -Vijaya dwār* and the *Beharana dwār*, the former calls in three *Paśupāḷaka sevaks* to perform *maṅgaḷa āratī* ritual. *Bhanḍār Mekāpa* produces *Śrīkarpūra* (camphor) and *Paḷiā Mekāpa* lights it and then *Ekoyeeś batī* is placed in threefold in the presence of the gods. *Garābaḍu sevak* supplies water to *Paśupāḷakas* to wash hands to perform *āratī* simultaneously. If anyone of these *sevaks* absents himself on the occasion, the ceremony is held in abeyance till he or any other *sevak* of his *nijog* comes to do the needful because no one else is privileged to perform the absentee's duties. So perfect is the recognition of the exclusive rights or monopoly of a *nijog* 's services to gods that it can not be interfered even on the occasion of an emergency.

After *maṅgaḷa āratī*, the *Baḍasimhāra veśa* (the *śṛngāra* apparels of the previous night) of the deities are put off. This ritual is known as as *mailama*. After this, the

gods are put in bath dresses for tooth washing and bath. *Darpaṇiā sevaks* clean the metalplate mirrors with stand(*darpaṇis*) and silver utensils(e.g., *pingaṇas*). And *Pāṇi āpaṭa sevaks* fetch water from the *Gaṅga* and *Yamunā bāpis* (wells) located within the kitchen yard. When necessary utensils, flowers, and other articles are ready, the toothwashing and bath rituals are performed by three *Paśupāḷaka sevaks*. Sweet scented water and *Pañcāmṛta*[1] are supplied by *Garābaḍu sevak*. All these rituals are done on the reflections of the gods over the mirrors placed before them and are known as *abakāśa* ceremony. In its course the *Chāmu Jyotiṣa* (the astrologer) makes his appearance before the idols and reads out calmly the contents of the almanac (*pāñji*) for the day.

The bath dressings are changed into ordinary dressings of a *dhoti* and *cadar* after *abakāśa*. The pilgrims and the devotees are freely allowed in batches to *Maṇikoṭha* to have close *darśana* (view) of gods and offer presents (*bheṭi* or *pinḍikā*) on the *Ratnabedī*. This mass entry is known as *sāhāṇamelā*. In its course if any one touches the gods or spits on the floor from the *Jaya -Vijaya Dwar* inwards, a *mahāsnāna* (bath) is occasioned. This is an additional ritual and much time is wasted as the whole floor and the *Ratnabedī* are washed and lime (calcium) water sprinkled. The ritual of *mahāsnāna* is nearly the same as *abakāśa* performed just after the *sāhāṇamelā* by *pūjāpanḍās* and not by *Paśupāḷakas*.

Then as usual the daily *homa* or offering of ghee to fire is done in the kitchen, which the *Dhopakhaliā sevaks* earlier swept up, washed, and whitewashed. After *sahāṇamela* or subsequent *mahāsnāna* (if any), gods are adorned in their morning dresses and these are of numerous kinds throughout the year. After the kitchen *homa*, *sūrya pūjā* and *dwārapāḷa pūjā* follow one another. Soon arrangements are made to offer *Ballabha* or *Bāḷabhoga*[2] (breakfast) to gods in '*pañcopācāra*'[3]. It consists of sweets, *gheekhai*, fruits, butter, curd, and some of these are prepared in the *Ballabha* house. *Ballabha bhoga* is very cautiously carried by the *suārs*. And the *mahāsuār* arranges them in four *panktis* on *Ballabha pinḍi* - the elevated floor between *Kaḷārāta* door and the inner wooden barrier.

1. It is a concoction of milk, curd, butter oil (ghee), honey, and jaggery.

2. Like *Bāḷagopāḷa* (the infant cowherd) or *Bāḷarabi* (early morning Sun), *Bāḷabhoga* refers to early food offerings to god. *Bāḷa* may be the mutated form of *ballabha*.

3. Though called 'five' offerings, they are in fact six including *naivedya* (food-offering). The first five denote the material universe in their *bhūta* forms while the last is material food offered to the *prāṇas* (life-breaths) in *dhenu- mudrā* (sign of cow). These *upacāras* have esoteric sense embedded in them viz., *pādya* (water), *gandha* (sandalpaste), *puṣpa* (flowers),*dhūpa* (incense), *dīpa* (light), and *naivedya* (food)represent *sneha* (adherence), *viśvasa* (trust), *sammāna* (adoration), *bhakti* (reverence), *jñāna* (knowledge), and *tadātmyabodha* (realization of the linkage of the worshipper with the worshipped) respectively. Moreover, the ritual of *pañcopacāra* may be elaborated into ten (*daśopacāra*), sixteen (*ṣoḍośopacāra*) and at times even to sixty-four (Ravi Varma, 1993).

Soon three *pūjāpandās* perform the *pūjā*.

After *homa* in the kitchen (*Roṣaghara*), the *culis* (ovens using wood as fuel) are ignited and the *bhogas* are cooked only by the *suārs*. No one else is allowed access into the kitchen except the *suārs* ; others are permitted to its yard only. To the kitchen, there is only one entrance guarded by a watchman. All articles of *bhoga* are carried through it by Brahmins and an officer of the temple sanitation department is on watch to ensure that no prohibited, unsuitable, and rotten articles are taken in for cooking. The number of *suārs* or *sūpakār sevaks* engaged in cooking *bhogas* such as *rāja bhoga, chatra bhoga,* and *yajamānī bhoga* is over five hundred. For preparation of *rāja bhoga*, cooks (*suārs*) have a separate arrangement under the supervision and control of a *mahāsuār amīn* appointed by the authorities. The other cookings are private, started by influential *suārs* and *mahāsuārs* without any permission. The number of ovens and their locations as a rule is fixed. The ovens are so constructed that almost nine earthen pots are placed on each of them side by side in a circular form. Metal utensils are generally prohibited inside the kitchen- earthen pots like *hāṇḍis* or *kuḍuās* are only permitted. Even no metal containers are used to draw water from the kitchen wells. Earlier, the ovens were the properties of the temple but in course of time many were leased out to *suārs* who gradually established their tenancy rights over them. Some ovens were given to some influential *mahants* (of *maṭhas*) which are now in the possession of their successors. But the *suārs* in possession of ovens belonging to *maṭhas* often approach the *mahants* when they (*mahants*) try to change the tenants for a higher consideration and such deals are eventually made in the temple office.

Brahmāṇs and non-*brahmāṇs* do vegetable dressing outside the kitchen. The cooking is very peculiar - salt, ghee, and spices are put into the earthen pots alongwith vegetables and only the *suārs* place them on the oven with requisite quantity of water. When cooked, a small rope is put around the neck of any pot and with an iron *ḍaṅka* (spoon), it is brought out of fire.

After *Ballabha bhoga*, the *Maṇikoṭha* (innermost chamber) and *Ballabha Pinḍi* are washed. *Pratihārī sevak* then ties two pieces of red silk clothes. The one at *Kaḷārata* door up above a man's height is known as *ṭerā* and the other over inner wooden barrier is known as *pāhāḍa*. These are probably symbols for people to know that *bhoga* is being offered and accordingly to keep off. Then a *Pūjāpanḍā* goes in and marks the sites of four *paṅktis* with *muruja* (white powder made of ground rice & chalk stone) in *Maṇikoṭha*, and *Pratihārī* with two canes in hand along with some *Carcā* officers goes to the kitchen gate and calls out to *Mahāsuār* to bring *Rāj bhoga* (morning *dhūpa* offerings). One *suār* carries the first *bhāra* (lot) of *bhogas* and accompanies the party back while *Pratihārī* creates peculiar sounds with two canes and calls aloud to people against their ingress into the *bhoga* path. *Pradhānī sevaks* call three *Pūjāpanḍās* who perform *ṣoḍośopacār pūjā*

sitting on *Ratnabedī* and it takes over one and half hours. To help the *Pūjāpandās* in *upacārs*, the concerned *sevaks* remain on high alert. One *Paṅtibaḍu* remains present all along in *Maṇikoṭha* to see that *bhogas* carried by *suārs* are properly arranged in the respective *panktis* (four in number). The *koṭhabhoga mahāsuār* 's responsibility ceases as soon as *bhogas* are placed in *Maṇikoṭha* in the custody of the *Paṅtibaḍu sevak*. To expedite *pūjā*, one *Pradhāni brāhmaṇa* from the *Muktimanḍapa* and another member of the *Carcā* staff remain present with a *Leṅkā sevak* and sends forth warning calls to *Pūjāpanḍās* by a loud voice through one *Patrībaḍu sevak*. The *pūjā* from its very commencement till its end is accompanied by the beating of drums, *ghanṭa*, and sounds of bugles in the *Nāṭamandira* or *Jagamohana*. In this *dhūpa*, the *rāj bhoga* and some privileged *maṭhabādi bhoga* (offerings of the *mutts*) are allowed. Any other *bhoga* that is permitted to be offered in this *dhūpa* is charged two rupees per *bhāra* and care being taken not to permit much. From the time of cooking, till the last *bhara* is carried to *Maṇikoṭha*, the *suārs* cover their mouths and noses with their second cloth around their head to prevent inhalation of the *bhoga* or the accidental fall of saliva on it. The *bhāras* of *bhogas* are carried with great precaution and if any one touches it or its carriers on transit, the *bhogas* are condemned and put in pits at once. Before *naivedya* but after *dhūpa* (incense) and *dīpa* (*diyā*, lamp) *upacārs*, the *ṭerā* and *pāhāḍa* are taken off and the *Kaḷārata* door is closed. Except *Paṅtibaḍus* and *Pūjāpanḍās* no one else is allowed to remain in *Maṇikoṭha*.Just when the door is closed, a *devadāsī* dances in *Nāṭamandira* under the supervision of the present nominal *Parichā* and it continues till the *pūjā* is over and *Kaḷārata* door reopens. After offerings of *naivedya*, the final *upacār* i.e., *bandāpanā ārati* of the deities commences. The pilgrims and others behold it remaining behind the inner barrier (*bhitara kāṭha*). Thus ends the morning *dhūpa*. The details of the *bhoga* articles offered as *naivedya* are described in Appendix - G.

No sooner the morning *dhūpa* is over than a *thāḷi* (plate) of *khecedi-anna* (enriched cooked rice) is taken out of the *Maṇikoṭha* and brought to the temple of Bimaḷā Devī where her *pūjāpanḍā* simultaneously performs the Goddess' morning *dhūpa* awaiting for it to be offered to her as *naivedya*. On ordinary days, the *thāḷi* is simply offered, but on the *pārbaṇa* days of *Daśaharā*, *bilwapatra* (bael leaf) is put over it. Because of these practices, the whole lot of offerings made to the Jagannātha triad is transformed and accepted as *mahāprasāda*. Bimaḷā's *nītis* concurrently follow those of the *dārubrahma* and in all *rāja bhogas*, *ballabha*, morning *dhūpa*, mid-day *dhūpa*, evening *dhūpa*, and the last *Baḍasiṃhāra dhūpa*, this ceremonial offering is made as per hard and fast *Śāstric* rule. In two consecutive *dhūpas*, the re-offered *thāḷi* of *kheceḍi-anna* and *ghee-anna* are given to *Muktimanḍapa* Brahmins as their dues from *rāja bhoga*. In the month of *Kārttika*, a special *naivedya* in the form of *Bāḷadhūpa* is offered to the deities (Appendix-H).

After morning *dhūpa* when all offerings are brought out of *Maṇikoṭha* (the sanctum sanctorum), it is once more washed by *Suārbaḍu sevaks. Bhogamanḍapa dhūpa* are arranged in *panktis* in *Bhogamanḍapa* and all *jajamānī bhogas* and *maṭhabāḍi chatra bhogas* are offered through *'pañcopācāra' pūjā*. This system of *bhoga* is of later origin and does not seem to have been in existence since Indradymna's time. Had it been so some quantity of *rāja bhoga* should have been added to it. When the importance of the shrine as *Bhogadhām* of *Śrī Bhagawān* was preached and spread, numerous pilgrims visited Purī and charitable *maṭhas* were established. This additional system of *bhoga* was probably introduced for the convenience of the public. On festive occasions, this great hall is filled to the brim (to the height as up a man's hand be lifted) with cooked *bhogas* in heaps and still on account of insufficiency, two more such quantities of *bhogas* are offered after mid-day *dhūpa* and evening *dhūpa* besides permitting too much of such *bhogas* in each of three *dhūpas* in *Maṇikoṭha*.

After *chatra bhoga*, the morning dressing of gods are changed and new dressings are effected by *Paśupāḷakas* after which *Maṇikoṭha* is once more washed and mid-day *dhūpa* is called under circumstances as stated in connection with morning *dhūpa*. The same code of rules as regards services of *sevaks* and *pūjākas* is observed and the *pūjā* is also done in *ṣoḍośopacār*. This time the services of *devadāsīs*, drummers, and buglers are dispensed with.

After mid-day *dhūpa* the *Maṇikoṭha* is washed and the dressings of deities are changed to simple ones for their afternoon siesta (*pahuḍa*). Ivory studded cots with silk bed and pillows sprinkled with essence and flowers are laid in *Maṇikoṭha* with *biḍiāpāna* (betel) and *ghaṣā* water (fortified with nutmeg & camphor etc.) in small earthen pots on their sides. Then follows *Pahuḍa ārati* after which *baiṭhās* (lamps) are put out and *Kaḷāhāṭa* door is closed in the presence of the same *sevaks* as were present at the time of door-opening except *Bhitarchu* in whose place *Taḷachu sevak* appears to put the seal on the door.

Just at sunset the *Carcā* staff again secures the attendance of the *sevaks* concerned and the door opening ceremony is performed in the same way and by the same number of *sevaks* as in case of morning door opening. And soon evening *ārati* is performed. After removal of *pahuḍa* robes, evening dressings of gods are perfomed with numerous garlands and clothes. These dressings take over one- and half- hours. Then *Maṇikoṭha* is washed and evening *dhūpa* is served and *pūjā* in *ṣoḍośopacār* begins amidst sounds of *ghanṭas*, drums, and bugles. A very large number of pilgrims and locals assemble in *Nāṭamandira* and in the premises of the temple to pay their obeisance to the deities in the *Sandhyā veśa* (evening dress) and wait to see *dhūpa ārati* and enter *Maṇikoṭha* to have close *darśana*.

After evening *dhūpa*, *Maṇikoṭha* cleared of offerings is washed again. Soon *sāhāṇamelā* commences for the second time admitting into it one and all

present to pay their homage at the *Ratnavedī*. Some devotees also offer *bheṭi* or *pinḍikā* to gods. Good police arrangements with the help of *Pratihāris* of the temple are made to warn against and detect, if any, occasion warranting *mahāsnāna*. *Sāhāṇamelā* is closed after all devotees are admitted into the *Maṇikoṭha* in batches (about five hundred in one).

The *Maṇikoṭha*, *Ballabhapinḍi*, and *Mukhaśaḷa* temple are inspected minutely after *sāhāṇamelā* to see if there is any occasion warranting *mahāsnāna* and this is performed after changing god's evening robes. Then the ritual of *candanalāgi* follows. Each *bigraha* is dressed with one cloth around the loin. *Sugandha Ghatuārī sevaks* get ready in three silver pots called *piṅgaṇas* containing *candana* (sandal) paste mixed with *śrīkarpūra* (camphor), *keśara* (saffron), *kasturī* (musk) and other native essence. These are carried to the *Ratnavedī* and the paste is applied to gods amidst repeated *maṇimā* calls, sounds of cymbals, and whistle of a bugle. At this time, Jayadev's *Gītagovinda*[4] songs are loudly recited (Appendix-I). Nearly everyday many pilgrims with permits from the temple office witness this ceremony in *Maṇikoṭha* and the remaining ceremonials till the night *pahuḍa* (sleep) of the deities.

Then follows *Baḍasiṃhara Veśa* (the final dressing) - first with numerous clothes and then with various sweet scented garlands of flowers, which stretches nearly two hours. The *Maṇikoṭha* is again washed and *Baḍasiṃhara bhoga* or (supper) is called for and *pūjā* commences in *'pañcopācāra'*. After *dhūpa ārati* when the ritual of offerings is complete, *pahuḍa ārati* is performed. At this time, a *debadāsī* recites songs befitting the occasion and *Bīṇākār sevak* plays *bīṇā* (a stringed musical instrument) and *Śayana ṭhākura* is brought to *Jaya-Vijay* door where *bhogas* with *ārati* are offered and flowers are showered on the deities. Soon the idol is placed on the *ratna palaṅka* of *Śrī* Jagannātha. Devotees gradually thin out as *Śrī Bhāgawān jiu* retires to bed. Meanwhile *bābājis* or devotees from Baḍachatā *maṭha*[5] (monastery) perform *kīrtana* at the same place as during the morning 'door opening'. Lamps are soon put out and *Kaḷārata* door is closed. Southern *Beharaṇa* door is then bolted from inside and the floor of *Mukhaśāḷā* temple is inspected. *Bhanḍār* padlocks are examined and in the end *Jaya-Vijay* door is closed and padlocked on which seal marks are given by *Taḷachu sevak*. Thus ends the temple business of the day. Policemen go around the temple enclosures and turn out those present. None but a

4. *Gītagovinda* songs composed by Jayadev are recited to gods during *candanalāgi* and before *Baḍasiṃhāra veśa* every night.

5. *Maṭhas* (Mutts) are monastic houses originally founded with the object of giving religious instructions to the *Chelas* or disciples and generally encourage a religious life. The heads of these religious houses (called *Mahantas* or *Maṭhadhīsas*) are selected from among the *Chelās* who are associated in the management of the properties by their *Adhikari* (Puri District Gazetteer, 1929).

policeguard is allowed to remain in the Temple for the rest of the night.

While giving an outline of few *nītis* (rituals) of an ordinary day, I have studiously omitted some curious information and have still come so far in my narrative which may appear tedious to some readers except those devoted to Jagannātha. Mere watching of these rituals that are believed to be having their origin in the *Vedas* and the *Purāṇas* will no doubt strengthen a devotee's trust that *Śrī Bhāgāwan jīu* resides here in *Puruṣottama kṣetra* (known as *martya vaikunṭha*) and His *nītis* are patterned upon the ones performed in *vaikunṭha* (abode of Viṣṇu) by *devatās* (divine beings). Nowhere else such a second institution, I believe, exists where as many as 1800 devoted *sevaks* are engaged everyday to perform without fail ordinary and special rituals, feasts, and festivities throughout the year. The description of all the *śāstric* observances witnessed in the holy shrine would be bewildering and bring tears of joy to the devouts. But to avoid making this work bulky, I have overlooked them.



VIII

Some Facts and Anecdotes on the Temple

Śankar's Reactions to Buddhist Influence over the Temple

Gautama Buddha died (*mahāparinirvāṇa*) in 483 B.C. but during his lifetime Buddhism acquired a firm hold over a large number of people of all castes in Magadha and Kapiḷavāstu who voluntarily embraced his religion. It is said that two Oriyā merchants Tāpasa and Ballika who were on their way to northern India with caravans met him at Buddha Gayā and became his first disciples. It may not be possible that these early disciples had brought and preached Buddhism in Orissa for the first time although its rapid progress in distant places in India is confirmed from the proceedings of the second Buddhist council held at Vaiśāḷī (in 377 B.C.). Buddhist elders attended it from different regions such as Mālwā and the Deccan to reflect on the scriptures. Yet no reliable information is obtained from any trustworthy authorities as to when and under what circumstances Buddhism was first preached in Orissa and gained ground. But it is a fact that Aśoka, the great king of Magadha, after struggling hard for years conquered Kaḷiṅga in 261 B.C. The spectacle of the sanguinary deeds in his Kaḷiṅga warfare, in which hundreds of thousands were killed and taken to slavery, brought about a complete change in him. He then ardently embraced the noble creed of Gautama. It was after this conversion in 257 B.C. (at Sānchi) that Aśoka became a passionate follower and zealous promulgator of Buddhism and sent out missionaries to distant countries to preach and promulgate the faith. By this time Buddhism had flourished throughout the northern India. If not earlier, it is most probable that Kaḷiṅga afterwards known as Utkal welcomed Buddhism in a far greater degree when it eventually became the state religion of his vast empire.

A faint glimpse of this historic truth is obtained from the *Guruparamparā* (a short Sanskrit poem giving a genealogy of *gurus* or *ācāryas* in succession

from Śaṅkarācārya down to the late Madhusūdan Tīrtha who died in 1925) of Gobardhan *maṭha* that after defeating Buddhists by arguments, Śaṅkar consecrated Jagannātha and founded this *maṭha* at Purī. The exact date and year of consecration have also been given in the piece. That Śaṅkar consecrated Jagannātha leads us to conclude: (1) some sort of worship in accordance with the Buddhist system of idolatry was then in vogue; and (2) the rituals, feasts, and festivities for Lord Jagannātha were not then being performed in strict conformity with the Hindu system (laid down in *Sūta Saṃhitā*).

Now the problem is whether the Temple of Jagannātha was originally a Hindu shrine founded by Indradyumna probably in the 10^{th} century B.C. (as mentioned in chapter II) and afterwards converted into a Buddhist shrine and then recovered and restored to its former glory; or was it originally a Buddhist shrine which Śaṅkar unlawfully seized from them and turned it into a Hindu shrine and later highlighted in *Purāṇas* (by Brahmins) connecting its foundation with a mythical king Indradyumna? Let us test the merits and demerits of evidence presented from both sides to solve the problem.

The essence of Buddhism, as preached by Gautama Buddha, was a pure system of 'self-culture and self-restraint '. It denied the authorities of the *Vedas* and other Hindu scriptures and despised the *Vedic* rituals. *Nirvāṇa* or the final extinction of life without further undergoing the chain of successive transmigration was the chief aim of the religion. People were taught to attain it by leading a sinless holy life after relinquishing the worldly ties or attachments. A close study of the teachings of Buddha and the Buddhist scriptures fairly leads one to a conclusion that Buddhism both in its doctrine and precepts denied the existence of 'the Supreme Being', knew of no soul, and even provided no future world for true Buddhists to enjoy the blessings of their good deeds in life after attaining *nirvāṇa* or salvaṭion. The worship of god or gods was never a part of the creed. Penances, mortifications, ceremonials, and rituals etc. enjoined by the *Vedas* and other Hindu scriptures were all declared painful, unprofitable, and unworthy.Buddha asserted that those ancient practices were but vain superstitions of weak mind trying to seek eternal bliss yet unknown and unrevealed. But as it appears, after his death, a tendency by degrees developed into a peculiar system of idolatry which at last was practised by his followers in honour of his relics preserved in *stupas* (dagobas) in only eight different places in Magadha and Kapiḷavastu. During his life time many (from princes to peasants) responded to the call of his touching creed in order to perpetuate his memory and exalt the very high position of the great teacher.

A story goes that just before the cremation of Buddha, Kṣema who was one of his distinguished female disciples dislodged one of his teeth and sent it to Brahma Dutta (king of Kaḷiṅga). This we know from the Buddhist scriptures of Ceylon. During the lifetime of Buddha, Buddhism was not preached so extensively that a

distant country like Kaḷiṅga had welcomed it. Again, there is no reason to believe that Kṣema sent the valued tooth relic to the king of Kaḷiṅga (granting him to be a Buddhist) who received and honoured it by creating a magnificent temple in his capital contrary to the Buddhist system of raising only a *stupa*. If the story has any truth in it, its connection with Kaḷiṅga was long after Buddha's death and only when it became a Buddhist country later. At any rate, the tooth relic had nothing to do with *Puruṣottama kṣetra* or *Jagannāthapurī*. Besides, scholars do not consent to localise the so called Dantapura and the capital of Brahma Dutta to one common place where the tooth relic was worshiped. Moreover, the Northern school of Buddhist scriptures and annals bear no testimony to the ill reputed tooth relic story of Ceylon which seems more to be a myth than a historic truth of any moment.

None of the Buddhist texts records any information that relic of Buddha had at any time been preserved at Purī or the Buddhists had founded any shrine there. In the absence of any credible evidence, it is not prudent to draw a bare inference on vain arguments that Purī was originally a Buddhist shrine; and disbelieve the historic truth of its foundation as a Hindu shrine by Indradyumna contained in volumes of Sanskrit texts. Had it been originally a Buddhist shrine, it would have been impracticable on the part of a staunch and puritanical Brahmin philosopher like Śaṅkar to seize and convert it into a Hindu shrine. It is equally absurd to draw such an inference when not a single Buddhist shrine (not even the great Bodh Gayā) was ever claimed and seized by any of the Hindu seers from the time of Śaṅkar to the present day even when Buddhism had long petered out of India. So resolutely orthodox in nature were the Hindus - the followers of Brahminism!

As a matter of fact, after the conquest of Kaḷiṅga by Aśoka, Buddhism supplanted Brahminism and it became a Buddhist country. Analysing impartially Aśoka's Sāsserām inscriptions (at the north-eastern end of the Kāimur range, 70miles south-east of Benares) in which he proclaimed that he deprived the Brahmins of their divine honour and the legends of his persecuting measures against them, one is led to conclude that as a convert and zealous promulgator of Buddhism and moreover as an all powerful Emperor of northern India, he was really a persecutor of Brahmins and a natural hater of Brahminism. So it is not impossible that after his conquest of Kaḷiṅga and his conversion, Buddhism spread everywhere under his zealous patronage and became the dominant religion of his empire with a developed system of idolatry. As elsewhere in India, Brahminism in the great center of Jagannātha was neglected and gradually declined. In the burning heat of the moment, Aśoka seized this Hindu shrine and suitably converted it towards the close of his reign seemingly as a triumph of Buddhism over Brahminism. Like other co-existent doctrines and precepts, the broad principles of Buddhist idolatry at Buddha (Bodh) Gaya and elsewhere and the Buddhist Trinity were, as it seems, borrowed from the parent religion then prevalent at

Jagannāthapurī. After the Buddhist possession of the shrine, Lord Jagannātha was represented and widely known as Buddha Dev for 200 years till the advent of Śaṅkarācārya who at last drove away the Buddhists. He recovered the greatest Hindu shrine, converted many to Brahminism, and revived this faith as before. If not during Śaṅkar's time, it was later that two stone statues of Śaṅkarācārya and Padmapadācārya (anointed by Śaṅkar in his *Gobardhan Maṭha* at Purī) had been installed by Hindus on the sacred *Ratnasiṃhasana* to exalt his high position and commemorate the unique event of the recovery of the shrine by him, which the *Rāmānujī* section of Vaiṣṇavas at Purī had removed and destroyed during the *Marāṭhā* sway over the temple in the last decade of the 18th century (Appendix- J).

The evidence obtained from the *Mādaḷāpāñji* that a king by name Śasoka Deb had rebuilt the Jagannātha Temple for the second time after Indradyumna to a height of fortyfive cubits may help to draw an inference that he was none other than Emperor Aśoka - the Great who had converted the Hindu shrine to a Buddhist one by raising a *stupa* over the old dilapidated temple. Let us patiently wait for outcomes of further research on the subject.

Reference to the persecution of Buddhists and they being denounced as atheists for preaching an agnostic creed and that the Brahmins were the moving spirit behind it all was not uncommon in later Hindu history. Still this moral restoring noble creed teaching a communion of love, universal brotherhood, and imploring for practices of virtues was patronized and preached by wise kings. That peaceful pursuits through a holy and sinless life can ensure *nirvāṇa* (final extinction of life) to end human sufferings was appreciated and welcomed by conscious people in India and abroad. Till the first century of the Christian era, it was the state religion of India. The periodical storms of indignant antagonism against its atheistical philosophy were raised from time to time by Brahmins because they were increasingly apprehensive of losing their hereditary priesthood and influence. At last, their indignation turned into a widespread hurricane by the hot eloquence of strong philosophical arguments of Śaṅkarācārya- the greatest champion for the revival of Brahminism and the most successful opponent of Buddhism. As a leader of thought and defender of ancient Hindu customs and traditions, he undertook missionary circuits over the whole of India accompanied by four of his best disciples, a host of Brahmin philosophers, and others under the patronage of kings like Sudhanwa, Rājaseṇa, Pūrṇavarmā, and Vṛṣadeva to stamp out Buddhism once for ever.

In course of his religious campaign throughout India, he founded four great centers of activities (one each) at the then neglected Hindu *dhāmas* on four extreme points to combat Buddhism. First of all, he founded Śāradā *Maṭha* at *Dwārka kṣetra*, by the shrines of Siddheśwar and Bhadrakāḷī (on *Gomati tīrtha*) and seated thereon one Hastamāḷākācārya also known Biśvarūpācārya as the spiritual preceptor for the study of *Sām Veda*. He was to look after and command

on the golden maxim of *Tatwamasī* over the spiritual administration of Sindhu, Sauvīra, Saurāṣtra, Mahārāṣtra, and other principalities of the Western India with the help of *brahmacārī* Swarūpa and others. *Tīrtha* and *Āśrama* were the distinguishing titles of the *ācāryas* of this *maṭha.*

He then founded Gobardhan *Maṭha* at *Puruṣottama kṣetra,* then also known as *Jagannāthapurī* by the shrines of Jagannātha and Bimaḷā (on *Mahodadhi tīrtha*) and seated thereon one Padmapādācārya also known as Sānandanācārya as the spiritual preceptor for the study of *Ṛg Veda.* He was to look after and command on the golden maxim of *Prajñānabrahma* over the spiritual administration of Aṅga, Baṅga, Kaḷiṅga, Magadha, Utkaḷa, and other regions of the Eastern India with the help of *brahmāchārī* Prakaśa and others. *Bāṇa* and *Araṇya* were the distinguishing titles of the *acāryas* of this *maṭha.*

Thirdly, he founded Jyotir *maṭha* also known *Śrīmaṭha* at *Badarikā kṣetra,* by the shrine of Nārāyaṇa and Pūrṇagiri (on *Aḷakānandā tīrtha*) and seated thereon one Totakācārya as the spiritual preceptor for the study of *Atharva Veda.* He was to look after and command on the golden maxim of *Ayamātmābrahma* over the spiritual administration of Kuru, Kāśmīr, Kamboja, Pāñcāḷa, and other regions of the Northern India with the help of *brahmācarī* Ānand and others. *Giri, Parbata,* and *Sāgara* were the distinguishing titles of the *acāryas* of this *maṭha.*

And finally, he founded *Śṛngerī maṭha* at *Rāmeśwar kṣetra* by the shrine of Ādivarāha and Kāmākṣī (on *Tuṅgabhadrā tīrtha*) and seated thereon one Sureśwarācārya *alias* Pṛthwidharācārya as the spiritual preceptor for the study of *Yajur Veda.* He was to look after and command on the golden maxim of *Ahaṃbrahmasmi* over the spiritual administration of Andhra, Drāviḍa, Karnāta, Kerala, and other regions of the South India with the help of *brahmācarī* Caitanya and others. *Saraswatī, Bhāratī*, and *Purī* were the distinguishing titles of the *acāryas* of this *maṭha.* In this (his) *Mahānuśāsana,* Śaṅkar laid down rules to regulate the duties of his four disciples and their successors, and made them to visit the provinces of their respective dominions on missionary circuits to revive *Vedic* and *Purāṇic* Hinduism. Numerous other instructions and wise rules for their guidance are also noticed in his *Mahānuśāsana* or edicts.

These centers of activities, for the revival of Brahminism in the room of Buddhism in India, were thus very thoughtfully schemed and founded under the control of four eminent philosophers by Śaṅkar in course of religious confrontation with Buddhism at the then neglected Hindu shrines. His four disciples with their staff served as his ecclesiastical governors over the moral and spiritual administration of their respective dominions all over India against Buddhism under his direct supervision and dictation; and, as it is, his forecast was fulfilled in the long run. The previous Brahminical revolts against Buddhism had but very little effect over its promulgation and suppression. But it was Śaṅkar, the sworn enemy

of Buddhists and hailed as an incarnation of Śiva, who had devised means to the end and laboured hard in his short life of struggles to strike a mortal blow to the so called atheistic/ agnostic religion. When Buddhism was at its zenith, Śaṅkar's movement thoroughly arrested its further progress in India and brought about its sudden decline and final extinction years after. The Hindus had by then deservedly honoured and accepted Śaṅkar as *Jagadguru* or the great spiritual teacher of the Hindu world (nay of the whole world) not only for reviving Brahminism in India but for writing down numerous commentaries on valuable ancient texts e.g., *Brahmasūtras* which were quite unintelligible to scholars; and for solving out the dogma or problem of soul and 'the Supreme Soul'.

Buddhism, as proclaimed by Gautama Buddha, was in reality the pure form of religion of the ancient Aryans before *Vedas* were compiled, *Vedic* rituals and ceremonies were codified, and caste system was formed. The doctrine of *nirvāna* was added to it only later. Similarly, the pantheon of thirtythree crore (330 million) gods of *Ṛg Veda* with the Sun as the chief god was of later origin. Interest in 'nature' amongst the ancient Hindus developed because of their acceptance of *brahma* (e.g. in *Upaniṣads*) as the 'Supreme Being' from whom all animate and inanimate objects in the universe emanated. In *Upaniṣads*, questions on the conjectures of 'transmigration of soul', on the 'mysteries of death', and the 'future world' were raised that eventually formed the core issues of upcoming Hindu philosophy.

Gautama had long undergone penances and mortifications of a Hindu ascetic which he at last rejected and condemned as ineffective and worthless as the rites and ceremonies which householders practise. And after long meditation when he became Buddha or the 'Enlightened One', he realised to proclaim to mankind the essence of a holy and sinless life - freed of passions and worldly ties - as means to end human sufferings by attaining therefrom *nirvāṇa*, the prime mission of his creed. The principles, however, on which he based his creed were the same as the Hindus' *mukti* and preferred to equate it with *nirvāṇa*. He accepted the ancient Hindu theory of the 'transmigration of soul' as if a revealed truth to him. How was this mystery revealed to him if it were so? To him its source was no doubt the Hindu '*Upaniṣads*' and later Hindu philosophy. This theory is equally as mysterious as the theory of soul and the 'Supreme Soul', the existence of which he denied somehow or other as uncertainty since it was not revealed to him.

The weak point in the creed of the great teacher is inherent on the issue of his accepting the mysterious theory of the 'transmigration of life' from the Hindu *Upaniṣads et al* and hesitating at the same time to accept the equally mysterious theory of the 'soul' and the 'Supreme Soul' from the same texts. It lost out in its opposition not only to the theology of Hindus but also to other established creeds of the world which unhesitatingly accepted the existence of an all pervading 'Supreme Soul'. If the unknown, unseen, and apparently unknowable mysteries

of the 'soul' and the 'Supreme Soul' in theology were uncertainties (as they really are) to Buddha, how is it that *nirvāṇa* either before or after death was a certainty and a revealed truth to him? The circumstances of blessings and woes, ups and downs in life might establish the Hindu theory of the 'transmigration of soul' as consequences of virtues and vices in the previous life. And this might have led Buddha to accept the Hindu theory of the 'transmigration of soul' as the 'transmigration of life'. But how he based and established the truth of his *nirvāṇa* is a question of questions - Was it from death alone as the concomitant outcome? Or from mysteries (after death) which are beyond the scope of human knowledge? He provided no future rewards for a holy, sinless, benevolent, and godly life except *nirvāṇa*, which was revolting to the Hindu mind.

The learned may accept according to their predilections any theory from any of the established creeds of the world but truth is truth and mystery remains a mystery all along. Even the Hindu conception of mysteries is having marked coincidences in other creeds. It is doubtful if devotion to god and divine services expiate sins or at all are sources of blessings (although so called divine blessings are rare) or whether these are consequences of pure devotion or of virtues of previous life, form a problem that demands a careful solution. But these are nevertheless safeguards against tendencies towards sins. If such devotion and services are not so characterized, it is but nothing short of hypocrisy. Honesty as the best policy characterized all along the creed of Buddha. Devotion to sinless and benevolent life that is passed in peaceful pursuits, freed from passions and worldly ties, and judicious discharge of duties are certainly the essence of happiness in life and also in life to come, on rebirth, on the earth, in heaven or in *vaikuntha* - if Buddha is not incorrect in his theory of *nirvāṇa*. And such devotion is the means to the end. 'What price can recompense the pangs of vice?' No amount of virtue can act against vice which must have its repercussions. The 'Supreme Soul' has nothing to do to react against its 'divine enactments'; and the 'supreme divine judicature' is not a mere landlord's agency to be moved towards his ever visiting panegyric tenant who makes presents from time to time. Probably swayed to and fro in his earnest and inquisitive mind by such conflicts, Buddha at last rejected Hindu theology as uncertainty and hence declared devotion to god and services as abuse and particularly insisted on practice of virtues and on a holy, benevolent life. While not accepting the 'soul', the 'Supreme Soul', and the 'heaven', he pleaded *nirvāṇa* as the perfection of human destiny to end human sufferings.

Buddhism flourished in India for centuries under the patronage of wise kings and emperors. But its agnostic creed and atheistic philosophy which Buddhist scholars scrupulously introduced into it, on the basis of Gautama's teaching on the uncertainty of a 'Supreme Soul' governing the whole system of universe, was the main cause of its decline, fall, and final extinction in India – the land of Brahmin philosophers like

Janaka, Jaimini, Badarāyaṇa, Vyāsa, Kapiḷa, Gautama, Pātañjali , and Kāmada from remote antiquities. Although outside its home, over one third of the human race in the world (particularly in Asiatic countries where there were no recognized creeds) are the followers of this noble religion. Far from reconciling the differences of Brahminism and Buddhism, both Brahmins and Buddhists went to the extreme. The headstrong and fault seeking Brahmins to suit their purposes were rather ready always to fight the weak point than to appreciate the higher system of ethics which Buddhism taught for moral progress of the country. And at last Śaṅkarācārya killed the universal love and brotherhood with equitable advantages for all amongst the caste ridden people of India, which Gautama Buddha – a *kṣatrīya* sage or *rājarṣi* – actuated with universal love and sympathy for the first time in world history and in a world of Brahmins. In order to denounce the whole system of Buddhism, the Brahmins increasingly found fault with its weak points. Thus within a few centuries after Śaṅkar, Buddhism died out of India once for all.

But although a sworn enemy of atheists, Śaṅkar had, however, recognized the popular belief of Hindus and accepted and hailed Gautama Buddha - the Exalted One - as the 9th incarnation of Viṣṇu born as a human being in his '*Daśābatārastotram*' and whom he describes as:

"dharbaddha padma ranasthagri yo'sti....sa buddha prabuddha niścitabartī"

Śaṅkar's epoch is a turning point in the religious history of India heralding the revival of Brahminism against Buddhism that eventually began to decline in India. The antiquarians have fixed the 7th or 8th century of the Christian era as the period in Indian history when Buddhism had far declined and was being gradually supplanted by Brahminism then best established throughout India. In traditions, Śaṅkar is known as an opponent of Buddhism when it had reached its zenith and had overshadowed Brahminism everywhere in India. It is generally accepted that Śaṅkar as a great revivalist of Brahminism or the *Vedic* and *Purāṇic* Hinduism was a strict follower of Śiva and Śakti. He zealously revived their worship throughout to receive both temporal and spiritual blessings with, of course, complete regard to other *Purāṇic* creeds and gods. However, Saivism flourished in a far greater degree since his time. Commencement of such an epoch long before the time of *Śaiva* Kings like Vikramāditya of Mālwa, Yajāti of Orissa, Mihirakuḷa and Nara-I of Kaśmīr, Nahapāna of Saurāṣtra, Gupta kings of Magadha, Śaiva kings of Kannauj, and other famous kings of South India was no doubt a turning point in Indian history. So I quite differ from the opinions of those learned scholars and fix the 1st century A.D. as the epoch of Śaṅkara which is based on reliable texts and also reckoned from an important historic fact such as Raktabāhu's invasion of Orissa.

In the aforesaid *Guruparamparā*, its author writes about 142 *ācāryas* or *gurus* in the genealogy from Padmapādācārya seated by Śaṅkar down to the late Madhusūdan Tīrtha (died in 1925) and clearly states that, as no *ācāryas* were

seated in the interval between the 18th *Ācārya* Gyanananda and the 19th *Ācārya* Bṛhadāraṇya, his salutation is due to none. The period of vacancy extended for many years and many *ācāryas* could have occupied the seat ("*madhye kāḷe ṣṭhitānetannācāryākhyāmahimani* "). Incidentally, from the 19th *ācārya* no vacancy of Śaṅkar's seat is found and the genealogy seems to have been prominently drawn to the last (142nd) by different writers from authentic sources.

Vacancy of Śaṅkar's seat for years is a clue that corroborates the invasion of Raktabāhu (chapter -III) when the king and the people removed the gods, deserted the town, and retired towards the jungles. Of course, the then occupier of the Śaṅkar's seat might have deserted the *maṭha* and he was none other than the 18th *Ācārya* Gyānānanda. It is said, Gyānānanda had the title of '*Ācārya*' and the subsequent *ācāryas* to the present one inherited the title of '*Tīrtha*' from the 19th *Ācārya* Bṛhadāraṇya *Tīrtha* who as a *sanyāsī* of Śaṅkar's Śāradā *maṭha* at Dwārakā came to occupy the vacant seat. So it is beyond all questions that the vacancy of the seat of Śaṅkar at Purī was concurrent with the period when Lord Jagannātha was entombed at Sonepur Gopāḷi for 146 years during the supremacy of Raktabāhu and his dynasty. Yajāti revived Brahminism in *Puruṣottama kṣetra* simultaneously with the installation of the deities in 485 A.D. Śaṅkar's vacant seat was again occupied by an *ācārya*. It may be accepted that the *ācārya* in question was the 19th *Ācārya* Bṛhadāraṇya *Tīrtha*. I have no hesitation to come to this conclusion judging over all the circumstances of events especially when nowhere else hereafter a similar vacancy recurs in the genealogy.

The invasion of Raktabāhu is calculated as 339 A.D. when the 18th *ācārya* Gyānānanda deserted. If a moderate average of 15 years is given to one *ācārya*, then it is 270 years before 339 A.D. when Śaṅkar consecrated Lord Jagannātha and founded *Gobardhana maṭha* at Purī (in 69 A.D.). The *Guruparamparā* assigns the date and year as: "*bhūtendriyaṅka netrārddhe yuddhiṣṭhir sabasyabai baiśākhe śukḷato pakṣe daśādanyaśobhanedine*" i.e., on 3155 *Yuddhiṣṭhirābda* that commenced from the 12th year of *kaḷiyuga* i.e. after 3167 years of the past age on *kaḷiyuga* or 1860 years before 1927 A.D. or on 67 A.D. when Śaṅkar was 24 years of age. The slight difference of two years between these calculations is not very significant and I find no reason to disbelieve the age which the passage dictates as deciphered above. So Śaṅkar was born in 43 A.D.; became a *sanyasī* or *acārya* in 51A.D.; founded *Gobardhana maṭha*, consecrated Lord Jagannātha, and revived Brahminism at Purī in 67 A.D.; and disappeared at Kedārnāth in 75 A.D.

It was since Śaṅkar's time till the *Marāṭhā* sway over the temple in the 18th century that the *ācāryas* of *Gobardhana maṭha* were the spiritual administrators of the Temple's whole system. The '*Bāmadev Saṃhitā*' – a religious code (next to the '*Sūta Saṃhitā*') of the Jagannātha Temple is said to have been

compiled by Swāmī Bāmadevāraṇya – the 5th *ācārya* of the said *maṭha* to regulate the feasts, festivities, and rituals of the Temple as organized by Śaṅkar. The probable date of *Bāmadev Saṃhitā* is 120 A.D. Śaṅkar added many items of *bhoga* or offerings to Lord Jagannātha to the pre-existing ones so *Gobardhana maṭha* is known yet by its second name as *Bhogabardhana Pīṭha*.

Gourāṅga Deb

In the *Mādaḷāpāñji*, we find no mention of the advent of Gourāṅga Deb - the great Vaiṣṇab reformer into Orissa except from bare notes in two places such as on the subject of endowment of lands to Lord Jagannātha by King Pratāprudra Deb and its subsequent confiscation by the same king. It appears that 24 *bāṭis* of land (120 acres) in Oldhar and Damarkhaṇḍ *pergaṇās* were assigned towards *bhoga* of gods to be ultimately given to Rāmānanda Ray *Sampradāya*. It is most probable that the *bhoga*, out of the produce of these lands, was meant for the maintenance of Gourāṅga Deb and his followers including Rāmānanda Ray at Puri and was discontinued when Gaurāṅga disappeared.Popularly known as Caitanya *Mahāprabhu*, he visited *Śrīkṣetra* with his close companion Nityānanda Deb and a few disciples and remained there for 18 years. He was hailed as the *premābatāra* of Śrīkṛṣṇa Bhāgaban in the personage of Rādhā since he overflooded the country with tides of '*prema*' or love and people (except Brahmins) in large number from small to great and from peasant to the prince became his ardent disciples. The wonderful miracles linked to him (in the Bengali texts written afterwards to exalt him), the captivating spirit of love he had displayed and propagated in his very simple and austere life of devotion, and the impeccable Vaiṣṇavite instructions he had imparted to his followers do speak in loud terms that he was a *Mahāpuruṣa* - a great being born on earth to preach mankind a very simple path of devotion to Viṣṇu to achieve salvation. Like Gautama Buddha, his world-embracing love has no parallel in any of the great Vaiṣṇab reformers. But unlike Śaṅkar, Rāmānuja, and others, he had not left behind any work on the line of his doctrine to posterity except what some of his followers had recorded about him.

There are many works of interest in which his life has been zealously dealt with describing him as a sincere devotee of Viṣṇu who delineated a distinct path of devotion quite understandable for the people to emulate to end their sufferings. But as a reformer or revivalist, he does not seem to have gained widespread popularity and reverence in the hearts of people (India in general) except some people in Bengal and Orissa who became his followers during his life time under the heat of the moment. It was exclusively meant for the credulous and ignorant people who were unjustly kept back from any organized system of creeds but got attracted *en masse* to his novel system quite feminine in character.

Although Gaurāṅga Dev remained for a long time at Puri, he is not traced to have been associated with the introduction of anything special or new in the general system of organization of feasts and festivities etc. of Lord Jagannātha. He started during his time *saṃkīrtana*[1] processions before gods in *candana* and car festivities along with *bhajan* -singing *devadāsīs* and local people (Appendix- K). He once took up the services of *Gundicā mārjanā* i.e., the sweeping and washing of *Guṇḍicā mandira* (432ft x 321ft) before the car festival with the permission of the king. These services are still being performed by the followers of some *Gauḍīya maṭhas* established after him.

Researchers are silent as to how and under what circumstances Gourāṅg Dev disappeared (in his 48th year of age) and was seen no more in *Puruṣottama kṣetra* - his most favorite abode. It is said, on the very day he reached Puri, he went to *Maṇikoṭha* and was senseless there for hours together. He was never again on any occasion seen in the *Maṇikoṭha* during his stay at Puri. Every day he had to pay his homage to Jagannātha behind the *Garuḍastambha*[2] in *Nāṭamandira* with streams of tears rolling down his calm open eyes, making even bystanders pensive. In course of my inquiries, I was informed that he disappeared in *Totā Gopīnāth* and his divine being entered into the person of Śrī Gopīnāthjī and in consequence a portion of the thigh of the said deity turned white. But the circumstances are yet unknown. Had it been a fact, Gadādhar Paṇḍit (resident *sevāyat* of *Śrī Gopīnāthjī*) who was a disciple and *Purāṇa* reader of Gaurāṅga Dev and had long outlived the latter could have known the incident and spoken about it to others. Moreover, Gaurāṅga Dev usually passed the whole afternoon everyday in his company there to hear *Bhāgabata Purāṇa* from him. If this were a fact, it would have found entry in records from which texts on Gaurāṅga were compiled. An oldman once told me that when the deities were in *Guṇḍicā Mandira*, Gaurāṅga Dev untimely went to *Toṭā Gopīnāth*. He then made his way alone (unnoticed by his attendants) towards *Guṇḍicā mandira*, entered the *Maṇikoṭha* there, and was seen no more. If this information is correct, Gourāṅga Dev himself an incarnation of '*prema*' disappeared; and his body, a part of divinity (though visible to the mortals as mortal) entered the great Divinity Lord Jagannātha.

But had there been any truth in the aforesaid speculation, the authorities working on the life of Gaurāṅga Dev must have recorded either one or both of them. Conjectures about his disappearance were then avoided by authors. And now few give credit to these words - of- mouth information uncorroborated by trustworthy authorities. These are equally absurd like the piece of information in *Puruṣottama kṣetra māhātmya* about the disappearance of the

1. *Kīrtana (nāmakirtan* or *saṃkīrtana)* is a form of musical worship or group devotion, practiced by the Vaiṣṇavas for a more direct emotional experience of god. It usually consists of a verse sung by a soloist and then repeated in a chorus accompanied by the sounding of *mṛdangas*, cymbals, and by rhythmic swaying of the body that may continue for several hours. It often results in states of religious exaltation. The *Kīrtana* songs describe the relationship between Kṛṣṇa and his favourite, Rādhā.

2. It is believed the impressions of Śrī Caitanya Dev's three middle fingers of the left hand are still visible on the wall close to the left *Dwārapāḷa* of *Bhogamanḍapa* (behind the *Garuḍastambha*) while he leaned against it to have a *darśana* of Jagannātha.

Nīḷācaḷa in a sand dune. Deliberations such as whether Gaurāṅga Dev was an *avatāra* (incarnation) or not; whether he disappeared or vanished in *Puruṣottama kṣetra* are absurd in face of brutal facts. Even Rāma (an incarnation), Śrīkṛṣṇa (the Supreme Incarnate on earth), Gautama Buddha (an incarnation), Śaṅkarācarya, Rāmānujācarya, Rāmānanda, Kabīr, Nānak, and other religious reformers of India; Jesus Christ of Palestine and Mohammed of Arabia (two foreign holy men who preached two recognized religions) had one and all died at the end leaving behind their mortal bodies for proper disposal.

In order to come to a plausible conclusion on the issue, let us focus on the antecedents of Gaurāṅga Dev who was ever absorbed in divine contemplations in respect of Śrīkṛṣṇa and like a forlorn and neglected Rādhā often rolled over dust covered streets and was ever careless of his own person. There were all along with him a few select disciples to take care of him. It is said during the sunset days of his life, he was quite unmanageable in his obsessions about Kṛṣṇa (Gaurāṅga was believed to be the *avatār* of Rādhā by his followers). Driven to despair, he once, unnoticed by his attendants plunged into the sea and was recovered by fishermen. It is therefore quite possible that he once more plunged himself into the sea, passed away, and was quite untraced to the wailing and weeping of his followers.

As a believer of his simple doctrine of love and devotion, I once came across a portrait of his loving being and was moved to compose in grateful reverence a couple of *śḷokas* which is reproduced herewith.

Gaurāṅga Pañcaka

rañjita hiṅguḷa padmanat cañcaḷamca
pūrnendu nindita nakhaṃ surucirajānum/
kaupin khanḍ kaṭi- sūtra dharaṃ viśāḷam
bandhasthaḷaṃ nabanataṃ praṇamāmi gauram/1/
raktādharaṃ hāsita- darśita- kunda-dantam
uccaihsvareṇa śatataṃ harināma- tundam/
ārakta- sphuṭa naḷine kṣaṇaprema- snigdham
premāśru-dhāra -galitaṃ praṇamāmi gauram/2/
munḍita- munḍa- mati- snigdha-kapoḷa-ganḍam
prema pracāra kar aṇārthe - sadordhva-hastam/
vidvan- bahuḷa- paribeṣṭita- bhakta- madhyam
hema- prabhaṃ dhūmāyitaṃ praṇamāmi gauram/3/
advaita- prema- nivahaṃ bahubhakta- sebyam
śrī- pādaprema - rasikaṃ paramārtha- pūrṇam/
premāvatāra- dhara- sundara gaura-rūpam
niśānta- pādadarśanaṃ praṇamāmi gauram/4/
gaurāṅgasundara- kaḷebara- dibya- rūpam
nā mamṛtam birahe hi dayādra citam/
ta parti- nāśa ṛju- bartmā pradar śakam twam
niśeṣa duḥkha- dahnaṃ praṇamāmi gauram/5/
vīra pratāpapura śāsana vasī
nārāyaṇena racitaṃ rasa -ratna- dīpam/
gaurāṅga pañcaka midam ye japanti bhaktyā
dharmārtha vān paramārtha padaṃ labhante/6/

To a spiritualist who was enamoured by Gaurāṅga's ways of expression of devotion[3] , he might be an *avatāra* to revive a system. But to a historian, the advent of Gaurāṅga Deb was rather the beginning of the decline of national spirit in Orissa than in any way invoking any temporal blessings for her. He taught the doctrine of love and devotion with pious resignation (profusely practised in old age) and as a result of which life came to a standstill. The young king Pratāprudra, it is said, in spite of oppositions from his *brāhmaṇa* ministers became an ardent disciple of Gaurāṅga. His example was soon followed by people irrespective of their gender, age, and status except the Brahmins in Orissa. Gaurānga's doctrine was no doubt a most laudable one as it was open to all castes or creeds[4]. Enlightened or ignorant of all ages with complete tolerance for other creeds were impressed to follow a simple path for the final attainment of eternal bliss and disregarded the unrighteous caste distinctions and prejudices between man and man. But the deficiency or weak point in the mystic was his teaching of pious resignation to the masses which was not suitable in practical terms for the younger generation. The teacher's impulsive entry into *sanyās* (renouncement of the world) happened in the teeth of opposition from his aged mother and young wife; and contrary to the humble entreaties of others. This and his subsequent laxity best reveal his much agitated mind quite incongruous to ancient Hindu concept of *sanyās*. His teachings in some respects were as premature as his *sanyās* and most of his disciples were young men of blooming youth. His extreme examples influenced people to hold back from worldly engagements and to concentrate solely on sincere devotion and be absorbed in holy thoughts with constant *nāmakīrtan* of Viṣṇu as the only means towards the end[5]. It ultimately prejudiced the pursuits of strengthening Orissa's sovereignty when it was threatened on all sides by contemporary Muslim powers.

Maddened with the thunderous sounds of *khoḷas* and *karatāḷs* accompanying pleasing recitation of *bhajans*, an impressive number of people joined the order. Although they were attracted to and enjoyed the uncommon dancing introduced as innovations in *kīrtana* (by the ever dancing reformer and his party), they led ironically a spartan life of inaction (or protracted idleness) being quite indifferent to the stark realities of the world. A lot of them being without any honorable means of subsistence and simply feeding on others, got stuck (in the

3. For Caitanya, the legends of Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā symbolize the highest expression of mutual love between god and the human soul. *Bhakti* (devotion) supersedes all other forms of religious practices and is conceived as complete surrender to the divine will.

4. *Bāra jāti tera golā Vaiṣṇaba hele sabu galā* (Oriya; Once you become a Vaiṣṇavite, you rise above all caste distinctions.)

5. The ultimate goal of the devotee is to escape from the cycle of birth and death so as to enjoy the company of Viṣṇu.

movement) in the naive hope of securing, the spoken of eternal bliss in *vaikunṭha* after death. Hordes of followers, eventually preached in the interior of the country under the king's patronage with the result that it slowed down productive activities; and speedy decadence in the political life of Orissa ensued.

Orissa continued to be threatened by Muslim powers even before the advent of Gaurāṅga but had maintained her dignity and power through struggles on the strength of her best political organization. As such, it was then never in need of a reformer like Gaurāṅga and a counsellor like Rāmānanda to teach her *Pūrnadharma* (as enthusiastically conveyed in a watchword *śḷoka*, "*tṛṇādapi sunicena tarorapi sahiṣnuṇā amānina manādeva kīrtaniyaḥ hariḥ sadā*") in a critically trying period of political struggles that made her an easy prey of the invaders. On the other hand, reformers like Guru Nānak and Rāmaśastrī might have helped in making her a stubborn and roaring lion of a bitter match for the flock of aggressive tigers to overawe and chastise the latter to fallback. Armed dacoits at the door in broad daylight are to be combated and driven out by the valour and audacity of the inmates who are equally armed to the teeth in return. But unfortunately, *kaupuni, māḷā, tiḷak, kothaḷi,* and almsbag with *Harināma* on lips were the resources of defence which evidently made people increasingly weaker. The most deplorable concomitant resulted in the fading away and extinction of political life and final overthrow of Orissa's sovereignty. This precarious status continued for over two centuries punctuated with a series of systematic and merciless predatory operations over the country including the great Temple and consequent pitiful concealments of the most venerated *dārubrahma* for several times to contain destruction and desecration. Thus, the tears of love were transformed into tears of profuse agony in Orissa especially in *Jagannāthapurī.*

Amongst the various sects of the Hindus, it is the Śaṅkar *panṭhīs* – the worshippers of Śiva (whether their creeds led them to *kaiḷās* or *vaikunṭha* is altogether a different issue) – who have left lasting names in the ancient as well as modern history of the Hindus on account of their morale restoring and life giving religion, their bravery and strength to defend and to conquer, or to die whenever they found the ruling power ungenerous and unjust to their cause.

Evolution of the Temple Police

In the Sanskrit texts, a group of *brāhmaṇa sevaks* known as *Pratihāras* or *Pratihārīs* (door keepers) is found among the seven groups or establishments of *sevaks* that was initially appointed by *Mahārājā* Indradyumna. This group armed with canes (hence popularly known as *chaḍidārs*) seems to have been the preliminary police force of the Temple. But there is no knowledge of its actual number and the subsequent developments from time to time till the memorable reign of the great king Anaṅgabhīma DevII when the *sevak* establishments

were reorganized for the third time and enhanced to128. His minister *Paramahansa* Vājpayi is said to have engaged twentyfive *Pratihārīs* under a *Nāyak* (head) to guard the Jaya- Vijay door (the eastern gate of the porch, *Mukhasāḷā*) and the *Beharaṇa* door (the southern gate of the porch). Besides them, there were some more *Prahihārīs* known as *Āsthana Pratihārīs* who guarded the entrance of the temple of metal idols; and *Parvayātra Pratihārīs* who remained on duty on festive occasions only. But their number seemingly very small is nowhere traced.

Although information about the *Pāiks* (ten) engaged to watch the *bhanḍār* (treasury) and other places of interest is available in the records yet reference to a special force, as at present engaged in the Temple to guard the four outer gates and to preserve peace and order within it, is not to be found. From a bare mention of *Pāik Daḷāis* (head *pāiks* or constables, total being twelve) who appeared from their other designations as *Dwāra daḷāis*, it is clear that these men apart from the *Pratihārī sevaks*, were on guard duties at the four gates of the temple, three persons at each.

Thus, the temple had in its ancient days, *Pratihārīs* (twentyfive) and the *Pāik Daḷāis* (twelve) to discharge duties of maintaining peace and order on normal days under the direct supervision of the *Parichā* and also had manpower reinforcements from the state forces on festive occasions as being done since the Maraṭhā times. From the present perspective, this system of force may appear weak, inadequate, and ineffective. But in the good old pre-railway days it was quite workable as, except on important festive days, the number of pilgrims and visitors were generally never so large. The *Nāyak pratihārī* was the conductor of the *Sāhāṇamelā* and was all answerable with his staff for its rash and negligent conduct. Incidentally, *Bhanḍāra karaṇa*, *Khunṭiā*, and *Mekāpa* were responsible to keep a watch on the *pinḍikās* (presents) offered to deities on *Ratnasiṃhāsana*.

Laxity, often found in the performance of police duties enjoined upon the hereditary *sevak Pratihārīs* or the daily rituals (*nītis*) conducted by *Taḍhau Paṭṭanāyak*, at last compelled the Marāṭhās to think of two effective arrangements. The first was a Police force - a number of *Barakandājas* headed by some *Dafādārs* under the supervision of a *Dārogā* - constituted in place of *Pāik daḷāis* who were transferred to the *Carcā* staff. But the hereditary *Pratihārī* force was necessarily retained for nominal services as doorkeepers as they had special services to perform at the time of offering of *bhogas* and *yātrās* which no other outsider had rights to do. The second was the *Carcā* staff comprising of a number of former *pāiks* and *daḷāis* under an *Amin* to secure the punctual attendance of *sevaks* during their respective *sevā*. It may be noted that these *pāiks* and *daḷāis* were formerly engaged to guard the *bhanḍāra* and the four outer gates of the temple. The staff like *Beharaṇa dārogā* and *Danḍuā ḍagara* under *Taḍhau paṭṭanāyak* was abolished once for good.

From 1803 A.D. till sometime in 1863 A.D., the district police had the charge of the police administration of the temple and the additional annual expenditure on this head was Rs 6804-0-0. Afterwards the *Rājā* being the hereditary *sevāyat*

proprietor of the temple was restored to his former powers to make his own arrangements and was consequently held solely responsible for the maintenance of its peace and order. Thus a number of *barakandājas* and *dafādārs* not exceeding thirtyfive in all and commanded by one *Dāro gā*, as in the Marāṭha time, were recruited but services of the Government police continued to be utilized in the temple on special occasions with the express consent of the *Rājā*.

During the tenure of Manager *Rāi Bāhādur* Rajkisore Das, the police force which consisted of fortysix constables, six head constables, one Writer head constable, and two Sub-Inspectors under the command of an Inspector was reorganized. The same numerical strength now exists to carry on the executive functions required in the temple. This little force too has to man and command four guard posts outside the temple - two at the *Rāj sevāyat* 's residence, one each at the treasury and the Guṇḍica temple, twelve men in all. It is high time to effect a second reorganization to contain irregularity and indiscipline in the force; and to make it stronger and more effective to do justice to the task entrusted. Although not smart and well trained, some are to work twelve hours at a time. Despite the fact that on great festive occasions, temporary constables are added but the overall strength is quite inadequate. Regulating the *Sāhāṇamelā* crowd which is visibly eager for close *darśan* of the deities is a responsible task of the police. It requires definite precautionary measures and strict vigilance not only over the subordinates but also over the rush of pilgrims at some hazardous spots; and moreover watchful tactics to conduct it.

Many false complaints (mistaken of facts) are filed before the Temple authorities against the police and they are all from pilgrims unacquainted with the temple functions. The main features of such complaints are that the complainants were debarred from having a close *darśan* by the police who also assaulted and insulted them. In my few months of service in the temple, thirteen such complaints were filed and not a single one did I find to be true on inquiry.

The former *Pratihārī sevak* force still serves but not with regularity at the Dhokaḍi and Jaya-Vijay posts. At the time of *Sāhāṇamelā*, they help the police at *Kaḷārata* door in conducting the rush of pilgrims into the *Maṇikoṭha*. On festive occasions, they are a helpful reinforcement and co-operate with the temple police at some important guard posts. But dark clouds of doubt of the gravest nature eventually gather over the fidelity of some of them for being alleged knaves - snatchers of presents (for gods) from the hands of pilgrims in rush; ironically, two of such cases were detected and punished in my time. Yet, on the whole, their general conduct is good; and they would, if well trained, organize themselves into an excellent "Irregular Temple Reserve Force" ready to assist the permanent active staff on periodic calls.

Snānayātrā (Bath Festival)

Snānayātrā takes place on *Yeṣṭha pūrnimā* i.e., seventeen days before the car festival and the Jagannātha triad is carried to the *Snānabedī* (75ft x 75ft) at the north - eastern corner of the Temple towards the left of the Lions gate. The ceremonial of *pahanḍi vijay* or departure from the *Ratnasiṃhāsan* begins a few hours before the day breaks and at dawn the deities are seated on the *Snānabedī*. Its location is such that they are clearly visible from the grand road. The *Mādaḷāpāñjī* alludes to its earlier existence at the place where Gaurāṅga's *pādapadma* (footprints) is now located and to its north the temple of Iśāneśwar was constructed in the shape of Mt Kailāś. In the time of *Mahārājā* Puruṣottam Dev II, it was probably shifted and to mark the sanctity of the original site, two *pādapadmas* of Jagannātha and Baḷarāma were consecrated on it which are still present. On account of some divine incidents, change of venue was effected of which a short narrative is given below.

One Gaṇapati Bhatta - a *brāhmaṇa* of Kāñci (puram) and a devout follower of Gaṇeśa[6] once visited Purī. Nothing is known as to whether he was a person on pilgrimage or an ambassador to negotiate the marriage of his *rājā*'s daughter Padmāvatī with Puruṣottama Dev. He is said to have been put up at Madhupur palace near *Aḷambā Debī* temple and reference to it is found in the *Mādaḷāpāñji.* In front of the said temple, a pond with first class stonewalls and excellent flight of stairs all around it is to be seen as the remains of the now extinct palace and its courtyard. The pond is still in the *khās* possession of the royal house and the Aṭharanalā is known as Madhupur river after the palace. That Gaṇapati Bhatta stayed near Aṭharanaḷā instead of any other suitable place in the locality leads me to believe, he was really an ambassador and befitting his stature was entertained in the king's second palace. Upon his visit to the Temple, Lord Jagannātha did not appear to him as his *Iṣṭadebatā* Gaṇeśa for which he declined to accept *mahāprasād* and also decided never to visit the shrine again so long he remained at Purī.

On the night before *Snāna Pūrnimā* when Gaṇapati Bhatta was about to return to Kāñci, he was told in the dream to see his *Iṣṭadebatā* in the *persona* of Jagannātha and Baḷarāma if he proceeds as far as the Lions' gate. It is said, before arrangements for *pahanḍi* could be made, the deities were seen not in the sanctum sanctorum but to the surprise of all, They were seated on the *Snānabedī* in mirthful

6. *Gāṇapatyas* are members of an esoteric Hindu sect who worship Gaṇeśa as the supreme deity. Generally, they put round vermillion marks on their foreheads and emphasise to invoke Him at the beginning of all important ceremonies.

and glittering form of Gaṇeśa. Gaṇapati Bhatta, being thus directed, reached the Lions' gate and viewed the deities in the desired forms. This is how *Bhakta Batsaḷa Bhagabān* fulfilled the wishes of His *bhakta* (devotee). Measuring the remaining distance to the gods with the length of his own person (making *Danḍapraṇām*), he went to Them and accepted *Mahāprasād.* Since this occasion, the deities after ceremonial bath are dressed as Gaṇeśa on *Snānayātrā* day (Appendix- L).

Pahili Bhoga

(A *Purānic* Anecdote of Interest)

Pahili bhoga is a longstanding custom of a supplementary and yet a substitutional ceremonial prevalent in the Temple of Jagannātha. It is celebrated throughout the month of *Dhanu* or *Pouṣa* when early in the morning but before sunrise cooked *bhoga* in lieu of *Ballabha bhoga* (uncooked breakfast offered between 8A.M. - 9 A.M. everyday) is offered to the deities. This is done after the rituals of bed-rising, *maṅgal ārati, mailama, abakāśa,* and the traditional morning dressings. It seems to have been introduced by Jagadguru Śaṅkārācārya known yet by his second name as *Bhogabardhana pīṭhādhīśwara.*

Just before the commencement of *Dhanu,* Queen Laksmī - the fortune incarnate - in her fickle temper (*cancaḷā*) is supposed to leave her consort Lord Jagannātha on a pleasant annual visit to *ratnākara* (sea) - her birthplace and the expansive blue residence of her father Varuṇa Dev (the regent of the West). She is expectant of a cordial reception from the numerous foam - white *apsarās* (nymphs), the companions of her maidenhood. The thought of being entertained by her parents and her desire to pass some days in gossiping and merry-making in pleasure gardens have become strong enough to hide. Simultaneously, she is also conscious of being an elderly daughter married to a husband of position and fortune, visiting her parents on an occasion when there is plenty of harvest and mirth galore.

In her absence, the Lord's kitchen is left in charge of the old queen mother. Out of a mother's loving care and concern, she makes various preparations of *khecuries, piṭhā* (cakes), and other dishes with the help of her second daughter-in-law Saraswatī - the learning incarnate - now left without a rival who always foments discord. The mother thus warmly feeds her children who she believes to be hungry on account of long winter nights. Owing to the mother's foresight that - early to bed, early to rise, early breakfast, timely lunch, and dinner would improve her children's health, the other four *bhogas* (after *Pahili bhoga*) are also offered on time unlike the past eleven months when Lakṣmī was in charge of the kitchen. This custom presents a glimpse into the characteristic features of love in relation to two feminities in the same household. One is a life-giving, nourishing, and close-

kin mother; and the other, a detached, self-willed better- half. Thus they are imbued with differing degrees of love towards a son and a consort.

Lakṣmī, however, a day before *Makar Saṃkrānti*[7] returns with numerous *bhāras* (loads) of newly harvested fine rice, curd, cheese, bananas, vegetables, molasses, spices, new clothes, drapery, millinery, and ornaments gifted by her parents as her annual claim from her father's house. Proud of all these presents carried in her trail, she turns wild, and no sooner does she reach her lord's house than she at once makes a perfect display of them nine times around the temple that very evening (*Nabāṅka beḍhā*) and eightyfour times the next day (*Makara caurāśī beḍhā*). Her countenance on such an occasion is fully displayed by the lucid expression of her squint eyes, golden-yellow swollen cheeks, and faintly smiling face. Soon with a change in heart, she picks up a quarrel with her arch rival - the white-complexioned, simple-hearted Saraswatī - for exercising sole authority in the kitchen in her absence.

Hurt by all these overbearing and haughty treatments towards her, which is a clear violation of domestic harmony and order, poor Saraswatī at once withdraws herself from the kitchen with the queen mother. Headstrong as she is in nature *(prakṛti mukharā)*, Lakṣmī is thrilled by denouncing her rival unreasonably. To her (Saraswatī) utter surprise and dismay, her companions like Sarbamaṅgaḷā, Bhadrakāḷī, Indrānī, Śitaḷā, Jhāḍeśwarī, and other female deities, present on the spot to welcome and receive Laksmī, took the best advantage of the situation and incited her (Laksmī) to bring the quarrel to an alarming point. Their motive was to enjoy and get some gifts that she had brought from her father's house.

Amazed at such a quick change in the status of Saraswatī - the all enlightened Bhāratī and the ever judicious Sāradā - a loose band of desperate and half-starved noisy *bhūśūras* (living gods on earth?) from *Muktimanḍapa* (the seat of learned *brāhmaṇas* in the temple) in tattered clothes, armed with panel-strip-bound palm-leaf *pothis* (books) in left armpit, and *pātrīs* (small oblong copper-spoons) and *kuśa* (*Desmostachya bipinnata*) in right hand, rush forward to take up and fight for her cause. Perplexed for a while at these unexpected turn of events (which are indeed unfair) and aggrieved by the pro-Lakṣmī support of the divinities, without scruples, a *śḷoka* flashes across Saraswatī 's mind:

na vidyayā naiva kuḷesu gouravaṃ janānurāgo dhanaukesu kevaḷam/
kapāḷinā mauḷidhṛtaapi jāhnabī prayati ratnākaramebasādaram//

And this realisation brings her back to her former composure. In cool courage, she then contains her anger and prevails on her obedient followers (who presented themselves on the spot *suo motu* and took up her cause for ready

7. *Makara Saṃkrānti* marks the beginning of the Sun's journey towards the Northern hemisphere.

retaliation) to disperse. Although she keeps quiet, through her arched eyebrows certainly directed towards Lakṣmi and her companions, she lets her displeasure known to them for being unkind to her for no apparent reasons.

Alarmed at all these domestic squabbles, Lord Jagannātha hastens to the spot and ponders over the whole situation. It is too puzzling and bewildering for Him to take up any prompt measure. He at once calls sister Subhadrā and goddess Vimaḷā for help and at their intercession, the anticipated rupture between the two queens for the time being ceases; and the gathering melts away once for good.

Thus restrained, they reconcile to each other and take up respective positions by the side of their Lord. Saraswatī in white drapery, tunes in her divine *bīṇā* (vina) with downcast eyes and creates an aura of melodious notes that enhance learning and wisdom. But as natural rivals (co-wives), she can not help condemning Lakṣmī (yet depending on her riches) for her unenlightened attitude sunk in craft, vanity, and selfish motives.

And Lakṣmī, dwarf-sized in her ever enchanting feminine grace and profusely adorned with choicest gems, jewellery, and attired in superb yellow millinery, while handing out her immense fortune with quick eyes, expresses her *de facto* authority in every gesture. She equally condemns Saraswatī with frequent hot glances for her eternal poverty and depending on her (Lakṣmī) bounties for support and sustenance.

Watching *sub silentio* the irresistible rivalry too often enacted between both the queens in burning jealousy *coram populo* and in the same household in spite of His advices to the contrary, Lord Jagannātha broods over His own inevitable destiny in a melancholic mood, which is ironically intolerable:

ekā bhāryā prakṛtimukharā cañcalāsā dwitīyā/
putro'pyeko bhuvana vijayī manmatho durnivāraḥ//
śeṣaḥ śajyā basatirudadhu bāhanaṃ pannagāriḥ/
smāraṃ smāraṃ svagṛha caritaṃ dārubhūto murāriḥ//

Lord Jagannātha - the *Śwetadwīpa* Viṣṇu of infinite *brahmāṇḍas* (universes), each consisting of fourteen worlds under the direct supervision of the Great Lord - *Śrī* Mahāviṣṇu of eternal *Vaikunṭha* subject to the immediate control of the Supreme Ultimate Universal Lord - the *Sadeiśwaryaśāḷī Sanātāna Paraṃbrahma* of everlasting *Golaka* – is indeed struck dumb and motionless as a massive log of wood *ipso facto* and utters not even a word of admonition to any *ad arbitrium.*

(And the author, who failed in all his earnest endeavors to hear a word and understand Him,eventually drew this anecdote of rupture, as a circumstantial pen picture, a sorry and lamentable scene not infrequently enacted with extreme jealousy and sworn antagonism between 'riches' and 'learning' in ordinary race of life.)

Lakṣmī then dresses and feeds Lord Jagannath and His brother and sister out of her father's gifts, which is known as *Makaracāuḷa bhoga.* She resumes her daily chores of cooking and serving *ad libitum* as before. And Lord Jagannātha being overwhelmed by the uncommon beauty - *nulli secundus* of His chief consort (born of wealthy parents and manifesting occasional maiden-like countenance) - and being concerned so as not to dilute conjugal bliss, yields to her imperious will with unseeming murmur. Mahālakṣmī is ultimately left in charge of the household to craftily control immense fortune. As an expression of similar devotion and love for the venerated *Kaḷiā ṭhākura* (Lord Jagannātha), a vast quantity of *Makaracāuḷa* prepared out of newly harvested fine rice is offered as *bhoga* on the same day mostly by the Purī *Pañcakośī* residents [8].

The genesis of the ritual of *Pahili bhoga* is thus most interesting. It may be construed as a heart - touching illustration of worldly love and concern in a happy and blessed family. The practices as observed in the Temple find a concise representation in the Sanskrit phrase *'yatha dehe , tatha dewe'* - the upkeep required for the existence of the living entities holds good as well for the Almighty, *alter idem* the human beings are but the emanations from the ' Supreme Being '.

8. People living within a distance of 10 miles or 16kms (One *Kośa* = two miles) from the township of Puri.



IX

Jagannāthism

Jagannāthism as the prevailing faith of the majority of Hindu population in India is agreeable to the doctrines and beliefs of its different sects. Hence, the two great divisions of the Hindus viz., the Śaktas[1] and the Vaiṣṇavas[2] find in it no departure from their respective religious codes ; and as a consequence, intensely adore the *dārubrahma* deities as their own. The hostile attitude which is usually seen between them elsewhere ending in *mārpiṭ* (physical attacks) is of rare occurrence here. It is thus the honeycomb to all. Why so, and why do they yield to it when each subscribe to a different dogma, one a follower of Śakti and the other of Viṣṇu? I am not going to elaborate the various *Śāstric* testimonials to prove their charming reconciliation in Jagannātha but refer to some practical coincidences in the observance of ceremonials that are agreeable to the texts of both.

Very early in the morning when *Pratihārī sevak* pours forth in a thunderous voice '*maṇimā*' calls to arouse Lord Jagannātha from sleep just before the *Kaḷāhāta* door is opened and also in the evening at *Candanalāgi* when such calls are repeated, one is surprised to mark that the watchword evocative to Jagannātha is *maṇimā*

1. *Śāktas* are followers of *Śakti*; and *Śaktism* is an amalgam of *Śaivism* and the goddess - cults that centre on Durgā (Siva's consort) in her fiercer aspect. It is conjured up by them that the innumerable goddesses worshipped through various *tantric* symbols and rituals are but manifestations of a single *Mahādevī* (Great goddess) who is eventually the creator as well as the creation. In the *Śākta* cult, the divine principle is not conceived as masculine, but as feminine and they believe that the most exalted creative principle can not be most appropriately designated by the word "father", but by the word "mother". All the mythological feminine forms, above all, the consort of Siva, who is praised and worshipped under numberless names , are revered by adherents of this sect as the divine 'mother' (Winternitz, 1985).

2. *Vaiṣṇavas* elevate Kṛṣṇa to the rank of a principal god and consider him as one of the ten *avatārs* (incarnations) of Lord Viṣṇu. According to the *Gauḍiya Vaiṣṇavas* (the followers of Caitanya), Jagannātha is a combined form of Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā and not Kṛṣṇa alone. Thus the three principal forms of worship - such as of *Śaivism, Vaiṣṇavism*, and *Śaktism* - coalesce in the worship of the holy Trinity in *Puruṣottama kṣetra*.

rājarājeśwara. What does it mean? *Maṇimā* is a word of esteemed address by the common people and exclusively applicable to the *rāṇī* (the queen) or *mahārāṇī*. The addresses such as *Mā maṇimā, Baḍamā maṇimā, Māusī maṇimā* signify queen-mother, the grand queen-mother and queen's sister respectively. *Rājarājeśwara* means Lord of the king - of - kings (who is regarded as father) or the great father. *Maṇimā rājarājeśwara* means the great mother and father, the great parents, the great *mābāp* (*pitarau*) - *prakṛti* and *puruṣa*[3]. Such is the characteristic significance of the esteemed address and it is generally known as *maṇimā ḍāka* (call to *maṇimā*).

Impact of the Śaktas and the Vaiṣṇabas are visible in the Temple in equal measures beginning even with the dress materials e.g., *sāḍhi, khanḍuā, khadī*, and *cadar*. The first two are exclusively meant for the females and the other two for the males. A flowery nose ornament called *nākuāsi* (worn by females) is a part of each dressing and without it the dressing remains not only incomplete but subsequent rituals are also suspended. It is interesting to find that most of the ornaments of the *Rājā Veśa* viz., *baḷā, pāhuḍa, kiṅkiṇi, nūpur, cuḍi, cāpasari, ketakī*, and *aḷakā* are usually worn by the womenfolk. Again, the *bhogas* offered to the deities are agreeable to the principles sanctioned by the scriptures of both the sects. I am unwilling to disclose the coincidences further for some grave reasons.

Why should there be at all any cause of difference and disunion between sects of Śaktas and Vaiṣṇabas when each claims the *Dharmānuṣṭhana* having its doctrinal sanction? Lord Jagannātha the great parent or *mābāp* stretches forward His arms which guarantee *abhaya* (protection from fear) to all. Inviting to His catholic religion of love, He implores to form a homogeneous whole under one banner of unity leaving aside the sectarian dissensions and the unrighteous distinctions between man and man. Indeed, what inherent attraction this shrine has that draws to it a tremendous rush of devotees of all sects from the Hindu world far and wide, eagerly asking for *darśan* and *darśan* alone!

sṛtiscabhinnā smṛtaysca bhinnāḥ, nānāmunīnām matayasca bhinnāḥ/
dharmasya tātwaṃ nihitaṃ guhāyaṃ, mahājano jena gataḥ sa panthāḥ//

The *Smṛtis* or *Dharmaśāstras* (social and religious codes) are numerous - e.g., of Manu, Atrī, Kātyāyana, Gautama, and Vaśiṣṭha etc. (altogether twenty) - from

3. The presiding deity of the ten-syllabic as well as the eighteen- syllabic *Gopāḷa mantras* used in the worship of Jagannātha is referred to as the Durgā ("*durgā adhiṣṭhātrīdevatā*", mentioned in all the *pujāpaddhatis* of Jagannātha). *Brahmasaṃhitā* describes in unmistakable terms Durgā as the *śakti* of Kṛṣṇa Who brings forth, sustains, and destroys this universe at the command of Kṛṣṇa, acts according to His wish and is, so to say, a shadow of Govinda, the primeval *puruṣa* (Eschmann, Kulke, and Tripathi, p.181, 1986). *Śāktas* believe, "*vimaḷā bhairavī yatra jagannāthastu bhairavaḥ/*" Baḷabhadra, Subhadra, and Jagannātha are considered by the *Tāntrics* as Tārā, Bhūbaneśwarī, and Dakṣina Kāḷikā respectively:

tārāyantra mahāśeṣa subhadrā bhūbaneśwarī/
śyāmacakre jagannātha dakṣinakāḷikā swayam//

which many local codes have sprung up. The *ṛṣis* have had their views expressed in different doctrines but the essence of *Mānabadharma* is buried in the core of obscurity; and the appropriate path towards it, is the one pursued by the great.

rucīnāṃ vaicitryād ṛju- kuṭiḷa –nānā- patha –juṣām/
nṛṇāṃ eko-gamyaḥ tvaṃ asi payasāmarṇava iva//

The various paths straight or crooked followed out of choice or predilection lead but to the one like the water system taking different courses in all directions and reaching the great ocean in the long run.

Why this *Nīḷakandara*, the innermost chamber within the temple which is popularly known as the *Gambhīrā* or the *Maṇikoṭha* in *Nīḷācaḷa*, is constantly visited by all sects of Hindus? Is this the same *guhā* (cave) where *dharmatatwa*, the great truth of *mānabadharma* lies deep concealed in the image of *dārubrahma*?

Mahārājā Indradymna got the *dāru* from the sea having celestial marks. The elderly divine carpenter Ananta Mahāraṇā tried to chisel out the images in a closed temple and deposited the *brahma* in them. But when the door was opened before the promised time, he vanished leaving behind the venerated idols. The *dārubrahma mūrties* (idols) were without legs and two of them had arms only upto their wrists. All in outline of busts were found and to which was added a plank of timber as Sudarśana. The conjectures explaining the deformed representations are multifaceted but seem to be neither plausible nor convincing. In reality, the fourfold emblems of Viṣṇu viz., *śaṅkha* (conch), *cakra* (discus), *gadā* (mace), and *padma* (lotus) are associated with the idols of Baḷabhadra, Jagannātha, Sudarśana, and Subhadrā respectively. Moreover, there is convergence of views regarding the existence of hallowed relics possibly of Kṛṣṇa (revered as *Pūrna Parambrahma* - the incarnate Supreme Being) within Them. These explain why the Hindus accept the offerings of *dārubrahma* as *mahāprasāda* - a term addressed with special reverence and not at all applicable to offerings made elsewhere and these are never accepted as such by anyone. The feasts, festivities, ceremonials, and daily rituals (based on certain *dhyānas* and *mantras*) of Jagannātha are all performed in the name of Śrīkṛṣṇa. Great saints and reformers like Śaṅkara, Caitanya, and others have invoked Jagannātha in the popular names of *Śrīkṛṣṇa Bhagabān* in their prayers such as *Nandanandan*, *Mathurānātha*, *Bṛndābanacandra*, and *Dwārakā sarbabhauma* etc.

There is no distinction of caste and creed (Oriyā - *nāhin jāti dharma bicār*) here and even the most ardent *brāhmaṇa* strict enough to upkeep his *jātidharma* superstitions accepts unhesitatingly and fervently *mahāprasāda* (viz., rice, dal, & curry etc) from the hands of a lowly. In a nutshell, *Jagannāthism* proclaims and preaches a communion of love and oneness of mankind.

It is not simply in the dark cave or *maṇikoṭha* of the Temple that the great

truth of *dharma* is deep concealed but those who virtually practise catholic religion of love in a holy life need to explore further into the second darker cave in the image of *dārubrahma*. Whether saying prayers with ardent love, observing fasts, uttering numerous names of the Supreme Being, or dancing while being absorbed in *Harinām kīrtana* wash away or propitiate sins or else are acts of merits or virtues on the part of the doer I do not know. Although I have deep reservations and grave doubts on the best of authorities such as the Mahābhārata etc., I doubt not a whit that such severe self - disciplined practices certainly serve as breakwaters to the storms of temptations, to the sins to which humanity is lured to, and also act as antiseptic to moral decays as they contribute to lofty creative faculties that gradually culminate in high standards of morality against vices.

The twin symbols of plough and wheel (spinning), which are the honourable means of livelihood and noticed as *āyudha* (weapon) of Balarāma and Jagannātha respectively in their embellishments, best remind the lay spectator to the advantages of self-reliance and self-respect that tend to uplift the soul as well. And the elder brother (white), the younger brother (black), and the female divinity (yellow) - sister to both, all seated on the same altar (*ratnabedī*) proclaim equitable advantages of mankind in rights and privileges irrespective of any colour, creed, and positions; and of course, ensure a special tribute to womanhood and recognition of women's legitimate place in the society with proper care and protection. In a word, the essence of *mānabadharma* is best manifested in *Jagannāthism* in all aspects.

Many of the oriental research scholars are of the opinion that the present seat of Jagannātha was first founded as a shrine by the Buddhists; and when Buddhism declined, the Hindus took its possession and converted it into their shrine in *Purāṇic* form. But none of these scholars have quoted valid sources in support of their assertions. It is only their surmise or conjecture. I have, however, discussed at some length on this subject (chs. II & VII) and shown that for over two centuries from the time of Aśoka - the Great till the advent of Śaṅkarācārya, the Temple was turned into a Buddhist shrine and the Buddhist system of idolatry was then in force and Lord Jagannātha was then popularly known as Buddha.

Such scholars are also of the opinion that the *Purāṇic* form of religion in India was an innovation of the Brahmins during the Buddhist period and it gradually gained leverage to become the state religion when Buddhism declined. They have fixed the period of Manu at about the commencement of the Christian era when Buddhism flourished in full force and finding no mention of Hindu Trinity in Manu's writings they posited that the Hindus borrowed their Trinity of Brahmā, Viṣṇu, and Maheśvara from Buddhism and that Brahminism had to labour hard for centuries to write the various *Purāṇas*. Some of them of course admit that the Hindu Trinity has its origin from the *Ṛg veda.* But early scholars before a reasonable exploration of the history of Buddhism had fixed the age of Manu over a thousand

years before Chirst. It is however admitted that the code of Manu is the basis of Hindu jurisprudence and Hindus are a civilized nation of great antiquity. Reluctance in certain quarters to accept the existence of the code of Manu in remote antiquities puts question marks on many established facts e.g., how is it that a civilized nation without any code of common laws distinct from the *sūtras* (the ceremonial rules current in different families) thrived so long since the early days of its inception? The disinclination is without merit. The reality is that the code of Manu predates the complete expansion of the Hindu nation; and much before the commencement of the Christian era, the Hindus living in different parts of India accepted it as a way of life and in addition, abided by the special and local laws that were later drawn up from it according to the changes in their customs and usages under the influence of time in their colonized domains.

Manu's injunctions directing the three twice-born castes to dwell within the confines of Haimāvata and Vindhyan mountains and the two seas is a clue to its antiquities to the effect that when the code was compiled, the regions within the said limits were nearly colonised and Hinduised. The regions to the south of the Vindhyān range remained occupied obviously by others and the Hindus had not penetrated into those places. History shows (as admitted by research scholars of all schools) that the Hindu population had expanded all over India as far as Cape Comorin and Ceylon[4] very long before the Christian era and founded powerful kingdoms beyond the Kṛṣṇā (river) and spread Hindu civilization and religion. In the flood of obscurity of Hindu history, Buddhism (with a history) should not be the landmark for scholars to measure the distance of Hindu historic incidents and institutions without grave considerations to their traditional antiquities. Moreover, the language of the Code and its constant references and appeals to the *Vedas* and its traditional name as *Ādimānava Dharma Śāstra* or the first Code of Hindu laws bespeak of its antiquities. Mention is made of image worship by Hindus in the *Manusmṛti* which the author condemns. Instances of image worship are also noticed in the two great epics - the Rāmāyaṇa and the Mahābhārata. Rāma himself paid His homage to Gadādhar at Gayā established long before him and founded *Rāmeśwar kṣetra* on *Setubandha* and was a worshipper of Śiva and Śakti.

Tenets of *Brāhmo Samāja* based upon monotheism of sacred *Upaniṣads* and preached by *Rājā* Rāmmohan Ray and his followers for over a century or Christianity based on gospel truths preached over three centuries by large hearted and selfless missionaries evoked no cordial response whatsoever in India under all favourable circumstances. Even their little progress during the heat of the moment got virtually arrested unopposed. Similar was the fate of some other creeds which were nipped in the bud in India. In view of all these, it is indeed a matter of deep

4. Śrī Lankā.

consideration as to how and under what circumstances a system of *Purāṇic* religion enforcing idol worship and not at all coherently organized (and never combined into one general belief system and ever full of contradictions and anomalies in its different creeds) and preached by loose bands of crafty Brahmins (not organised into a common fountainhead either) had acquired stronghold in the hearts of all classes of people throughout this country within a few centuries when Buddhism began to decline. And these *brāhmaṇas* wrote numerous *Purāṇas* and *Upapurāṇas* and implausibly like magicians were able to *purānise* the whole of India with their conflicting and contradictory creeds (e.g. 19 kinds of *Vaiṣṇabs*, 11 kinds of *Śaivas*, & four kinds of *Śāktas* besides numerous others) to a feverish heat in all the veins and nerve cells. It was nearly binding on the conscience of all the high and low to worship different kinds of idols. This system of worship was innovated, practiced, and gradually promulgated in some degrees in India through elaborate, meaningless forms and ceremonials by numerous Brahmins (other than those renowned *ṛṣis* from remote antiquities) ever since the degeneration of the *Vedic* worship. And it occurred long before the outburst of Buddhism. The *Daśābatāra stotram* and other Sanskrit verses composed by Śaṅkarācārya and dedicated to different deities unmistakably indicate that prior to him, *Purāṇas* were written and *Purāṇism* prevailed in India. In fact, he was the zealous reviver of *Purāṇism* that was once supplanted by Buddhism.

If it is taken for granted that *Purāṇism* was the innovation of Brahmins and was instrumental in the decline of Buddhism, then who were the Emperors or Kings of India *purānised* by the crafty and misleading Brahmins, patronized them, and sent missionaries throughout India (like Aśoka's role in the spread of Buddhism) to disseminate the novel creeds; and under whose active vigilance and favourable countenance such creeds were preached, made to take deep roots in the heart of all and was accepted by the people at large as their religion and not opting for the gentle and noble creed of Gautama Buddha? History is all silent on this question. The works of Amarsingh, Kāḷidās, and others who flourished in the 6th century A.D. in the court of Vikramāditya - the Great and the succeeding immortal authors bear testimony to the worship of numerous *Purāṇic* gods. Except Amarsingh all were zealous followers of *Purāṇic* creeds which shows that these works were already composed and *Purāṇism* was resolutely acknowledged as the long established religion of India. Had these *Purāṇic* creeds been innovations of a few centuries before or after the origin of Buddhism then these supposedly misleading innovations must not have had such firm hold over the scholars (who were all renowned in the world). On the other hand, they would rather have censured such new creeds in strongest terms and jeered at them like Manu on idol worship. In fact, Buddhism was not only a revolt against the brahminical religion of the *Vedic* form of worship but also the *Purāṇic* form of idol worship; and it having failed to stamp them out had an amicable but parallel course of

progress along with them in India. Its sole cause of decline and fall in India has been at some length discussed earlier (in ch. VII).

The Hindus do not seem to have an ecclesiastical control over their religion which was founded early on account of the spiritual realisations of numerous *ṛṣis* of ancient times. In the absence of such a control, it was not impossible for many leading Brahmins (the descendants of those renowned *ṛṣis*) to innovate such a system of idolatry which has its indirect origin in *Vedas* when they stepped forward in course of time to form a powerful and hereditary caste and claimed as their birth rights, the right to perform religious rites and say prayers for the people. Moreover, traces of the tendency of Vedic Hindus towards idolatry are found in the *dhyāna* of the sacred hymn *'Gāyatrī'* composed in a peculiar mixture of Sanskrit prose and poetry evidently in the Vedic period and the *Traiyambaka* hymn itself boldly speaks of a deity having three eyes meaning ' Lord Śiva'.

In support of my assertions, I briefly narrate here a curious tradition still not uncommon which explains the origin of Hindu idolatry and the examples of which are now seen in nearly all villages. The *ṛṣis* or *brāhmans* for the sake of their convenience selected mountainous tracts for their abode and passed their days in religious contemplations as the fertile tracts of the country were occupied by others. After some time when their means to support them were exhausted, they planned for their subsistence in a different way by putting stones and pieces of wood covered with flowers (in imitation of the aborigine culture) at some conspicuous places and raised deafening sound by beating utensils etc to attract those on the fertile tract below. As at present, a *brāhmaṇ* might have trembled from top to toe as if a deity had entered him and ready to impart His divine blessings to the devotees. After hordes of credulous people assembled, they might have been asked to procure food grains etc to be offered to gods thus being worshipped by such Brahmins, the *'polākhiā para pinḍopajibī'* (loafs feeding on others) class of people. Many sensible *ṛṣis* or *brāhmaṇs* must have strongly objected to this pretentious system of worship but ultimately defeated by arguments that when the 'Supreme Being' is all pervading, why He would not be in the stone and the wood they had setup and why He would not accept such worship. Hunger in a non-productive tract must have mellowed these sensible objectors and out of compassion they must have helped these new promulgators in drawing up codes of *pratiṣṭhābidhi* and *pūjāpaddhati* (systematic procedures of worship) etc. Image worship by degrees began to gain ground but was all the while condemned by the conservative lawgiver Manu. So far such preliminary methods of adoring and worshiping pieces of stone or wood were borrowed by the indolent Brahmins from the aborigines who were then gradually being Hinduised on gainful motives of securing means of subsistence curiously not by the sweat of their own. Any way, the aborigines still living in forests outside the pale of Hindu civilization

are found worshipping pieces of stone or wood as imitated from their ancestors. Study of the origin of the great shrine of Jagannātha evidently leads to a conclusion that it was formerly a shrine of an aborigine or his tribe which was later on discovered, seized, and converted into a Hindu shrine though in a modified form.

At both the extremes of every *brāhmaṇa śasan* and most other villages, this traditional worship of stone and wood as *grāmadevatās* (generally under banyan trees) apart from the established village deities is still observed without ceremonials since remote antiquities. The *Purāṇic* system of ceremonials, observances, and devotion is but a refined overlapping arrangement devised by Brahmins and borrowed from such crude methods of worship of the past.

Moreover, while minutely watching the *Vedic* rituals of '*homa*' and '*yajña*' etc., one comes across the rudiments of image worship which were in existence since the *Vedic* age. The elemental gods or the great phenomena of nature were invoked and supposed to have been attracted by hymns to '*kaḷasas*' (water filled earthen jars with five or seven mango leaves and a coconut on each) and oblations were given in their names to the fire kindled for the purpose. I am led to believe that image worship had its origin in some form in *Vedas* and began to be innovated in prominent forms and ceremonials by Brahmins during the sunset days of the pure *Vedic* age although the *Purāṇic* literatures that have its sanction came only later. The prevalent opinion that image worship originated in the Buddhist period do not appear well grounded and moreover the Buddhist Trinity appears to have been borrowed from the Hindu Trinity (ch.VII).

The fact that Orissa was a stronghold of Buddhism suggests that numerous Buddhist missionaries including monks and nuns swarmed into it (from Magadha, the prominent center of Buddhism) after its conquest by Aśoka. They colonised the province with monasteries to preach and promulgate their faith in the room of *Purāṇism* prevailing in far greater degrees as it would best appear from the *Skanda* and other *Purāṇas*. With the object to completely efface *Purāṇism*, they had seized the Jagannātha Temple, the greatest center of *Purāṇic* Hinduism and turned it into a shrine of their own under the system of Buddhist idolatry. It may be remembered that Hindus have not yet claimed the shrine at Buddha Gaya as their own and there is no reason to suspect that they converted a Buddhist shrine at Purī and accordingly forged records in so many *Purāṇas*. If Hiuen Tsiang's Celitālo or Caritra was identical with Purī (believed to have been derived from its second popular name Cakratīrtha), he made no mention of the high handedness of the Hindus. He was all silent except recording in his memoirs that it was a great seaport and had fifty temples. Its origin is best recorded in '*Skanda Purāṇa*' and '*Puruṣottama kṣetra māhātmya*' though with much Brahminical exaggerations.

Jagannātha Pilgrims (A Descriptive Account)

Purī is visited by pilgrims in small or large groups throughout the year and scarcely were their number found wanting during *sāhāṇamelās* that I had to regulate daily in the few months of my Temple service. They are in fact the messengers of universal love and brotherhood which the cult of Jagannātha represents. Each group of pilgrims is almost found to have a *sathiā* (guide) from its native place who is supposed to be best acquainted with the shrine. Over ten thousand Oriya Brahmins and others are in service as *gomāstās* (agents) or so called pilgrim- hunters of *paṇḍas* at Purī. They visit provinces of the priestly dominions or jurisdictions of their respective masters, apportionably defined and settled throughout the Hindu world long before. They preach*Jagannāthism* by distributing grains of *nirmālya* and through such missions, streams of pilgrims flow to Purī. Besides the hordes engaged elsewhere, a smaller number known as *dhūḷiā gomāstās* remain at Purī visiting every approaching train on the way apart from the ones regularly presenting themselves at the railway station to receive the pilgrims and, if necessary, to fight for their master's claims on production of old documents and sometimes ending in exchange of fisticuffs between contending parties. Anyway, they conduct their shares to their masters - the so called *tīrtha gurus* (the recognized spiritual guides or priests of the shrine) or *pandās*. The first ceremonial performed by the pilgrims is *pāun-pūjā* or adoration of *guru*'s feet with *nuzzers*. The *paṇḍā* or *guru* in his turn not only provides them with suitable accommodation and food but takes particular care of them by engaging his men throughout. The *paṇḍās* having priestly dominions spread over India have *pergaṇā-wārī* registers in *zillā-wārī* groups with names of villages in each *pergaṇā* and the pilgrims who had visited the shrine and their relatives and others to a certain generation upwards maintained carefully by scribes in alphabetically indexed order for ready reference.

Very early in the morning the pilgrims leave their lodges to bathe in and visit *pañcatīrthas* and then make their way to the Temple. North Indian women gaudily attired in lace bordered gowns and decent silk wrappers are generally bubbly and move around in groups singing all the way sweet songs in touching intone dedicated to Lord Jagannātha. They are often followed by loose bands of disorderly Tirhut pilgrims saying aloud songs (beginning with *Jagannātha ho bhāi*) to have close *darśan* of gods in the forenoon *sāhāṇamelā* that generally commences at 8.00 or 8.30 in the morning. Pilgrims present their *nuzzers* on *Ratnasiṃhāsan* and perform other religious obligations. As circumstances permit, *bhogas* are offered by them to the gods and later Brahmins and others are

fed and gifted. *Āṭikā* or *annadāna* to *guru* is a ceremonial performed mostly in *Koili vaikunṭha* buildings within the temple precincts. Cash payments to *gurus* are utilized in offering *bhogas* to gods. *Dhwajā bandhana* or fixing of flag on the *nīḷacakra* (of the main Temple)is mostly done by Bengalī pilgrims. *Suphaḷa* is the last ceremonial of mutual greetings. The pilgrims are blessed and receive *nirmālya* and *Śrīkāpaḍā* (a rag out of the clothes worn by gods) from the *guru* and in return make a small final gift. Suitable loans without interest are also advanced to needy pilgrims to perform all these rites and enable them to return.

The congregation of pilgrims commencing just before *Snānayātrā* (bath festival) and during *Rathayātrā* is the largest as compared to other festivities of the year (Appendix-M). At this time, areas around the Temple resemble a mini India. It well repays a visitor with a vivid picture of somewhat unhostile encampments in lesser Kurukṣetra with Śrīkṛṣṇa in the middle as pilgrims from all parts of the country gradually assemble in large groups covering the town from Bālighāt to Lokanāthghāṭ including the vast gardens and the sea beach and extending northward into the interior areas like a stream on Grand trunk road as far as Māḷatipāṭpur with an earnest desire to see Lord Jagannātha on the chariot. In one *Nabayaubana sāhāṇamelā*, I counted their number to be seventyseven thousand besides immense hordes who generally avoid the troubles of such *darśan* in the temple but eagerly wait for an open air *darśan* on cars the next day.

An earnest and inquisitive thinker is lost in himself to find the magnetism of Jagannātha silently proclaiming to the masses the oneness of mankind and unity of god and drawing in thousands of people, great and small, prince and pauper, enlightened and ignorant alike even from the remotest regions. Votaries of all sects who bury their differences and are enthusiastically absorbed in divine contemplation of *Jagannāthism* are stupefied in early *Śrī Gunḍicā* (*yatrā*) morning at His gracious appearance in their midst at the Lions' gate. Lord Jagannātha - the Supreme Being, *dārubrahma* incarnate - in His majestic expression with a gigantic *ṭāhyā* hurling overhead and leaving behind His consorts (Lakṣmī and Saraswatī, one fickle and the other headstrong) in utter disgust of their hot rivalry, is accompanied in forefront by His beloved brother and sister while coming out of the Temple - the *Martya vaikunṭha.* The sight of the imposing pompous processions amidst thunders of drums, bells, bugles, trumpets, and *ghanṭa* overgrown with repeated loud cheers , *bhajan - kīrtana,* overwhelming clappings of the impatient congregation (on the grand road and the sideway buildings) and the glittering *raths* (cars) with lace-laid colored clothes bubbling with feminine grandeur ready for cordial reception of the deities is breathtaking. Attended by most of His blessed *nījog sevaks* and skipping by paces all over the way with little pauses in forward and backward motions, it appears as if He is lending ears to the devotees' earnest prayers in the midst of deafening uproars and outcries. Struggling to ascend

the car to grant a much desired *darśan* for one and all to expiate sins and acquire merits, He would ultimately behold them calmly from the car and listen in steady silence their grievances and prayer with the last assurance of *abhaya* (no fear) by His out stretching arms.

Bengalees form the vast majority of the pilgrims who visit Puri. Although their congregation during *Doḷa* is of far lesser degree, pilgrims from the upper and central India are most visible then. The *Āśwīna* Gayā pilgrimage overlaps with *Kārttik darśan* and lasts for over a month. At this time, nearly three fourth of pilgrims arrive from the north and central India who gradually melt away after *Kārttik* . Soon pilgrims from the Deccan and almost all parts of Orissa make their appearance. If taken together, their number during these days would no doubt be far greater than the one during the car festival. Their constant ingress and egress, crowds the *Baḍadāṇḍa* as well as the Temple and the congregation do not seem heavy because the pilgrims are spread out and simply come for *darśān* of the Jagannātha triad and not for any special occasion. Since the introduction of railways (1897 A.D.), respectable persons from almost all parts of India are increasingly visiting the locality– a fashionable seaside resort with a salubrious and pleasant sea-beach dotted with numerous palatial buildings that afford comfortable habitation for a temporary change during the *Durgāpūjā* holidays. Such arrivals add to the Āśwīna Gayā pilgrims in number.

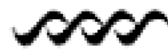
Earlier the *candan* festivities at the Narendra tank continuing for twentyone days in the burning heat of the summer attracted only the *puñcakośī* residents and very few visitors from other parts of Orissa. But after the comfortable railway connectivity, the charms of these festivities have gradually attracted Bengalees and other people. *Bhaunri* on the last day of the *Candanyātrā* is celebrated with much pomp and gaiety and watched by a vast gathering of mixed pilgrims. *Puṣagaya*, *Makaraprayāg*, *Gaṅgāsāgar*, and *Madhugayā* pilgrims to Puri are not so large and their impact is of lesser significance. However, the town cooled and refreshed by gentle sea breeze is mistaken to be perpetually under the reign of an ever lasting pleasant spring, This wards off the least possibility of outbreak of any epidemic and hence fear of contracting any disease.

As a matter of fact, the Bengalees are joyous and forward looking among the pilgrims. But many are mere visitors – suited, booted, and spectacled gentlemen and are clever whereas the upcountry pilgrims are grave and self- restrained. The latter are more devoted and seen to spend unhesitatingly for Lord Jagannātha and their *panḍāgurus*, feeding and gifting the poor, and making other religious donations than the former. The Deccan pilgrims are often acute in their religious observances and are not so liberal like the above two. But the people of our ill favoured Orissa having the best repeated chances of close *darśan* to amass untold merits to be despatched at last to *vaikunṭha* after lingering half-starvation,

form the lowest grave of pilgrims in status (I wish the heavyweights of easily acquired merits on way to long-cherished salvation alongwith the destitutes don't drag their souls back to deeper depths of worldly conduct). Often seen cheerless and dejected in outward appearance and in tattered garments throughout, they are fond of repeated *darśans* in a day. The wretched condition of most satisfies them in making pice gifts to gods as *nuzzers* ; and after accepting morsels of *mahāprasāda* for themselves, they to go back. The little - educated with empty ostentations often seen stick in hand are not uncommon amongst the class of ordinary spectators.

But astonishingly, as a rule, the womenfolk in all classes of pilgrims are always found to be disarmingly frank and sincere about their devotion and love for Lord Jagannātha. While making *darśan* with calm gazing eyes (often filled with tears), folded palms, and audible prayers on the lips, they demonstrate their immense gratitude to the deities for the blessings conferred on them. Sometimes they represent their grievances in abject submission for a redress with loud torrents of abuses like a deserted or neglected relation driven to grief and sufferings. This uniformity noticed in nearly all women compels an observer to recall the pristine love and devotion of *naive* Rādhā and her *sakhis* (maidens) who were ever imbued in platonic relationship with their *Mathurānātha* Śrīkṛṣṇa in *Dwāpara*; and now manifested in *Kaḷiyuga* as *dārubrahma* Śrī Jagannātha in *Puruṣottam kṣetra* at one corner of Orissa.

The special privileges enjoyed by the house of His Majesty, the King of Nepal and his nobles as royal pilgrims are beyond all questions because of their unusual origin from a remote period which no *rājās* and *mahārājās* have. The temple is depeopled for a while and rituals are suspended till they complete their *pūjā* and leave the temple. No fee is charged also for depeopling the temple which is known as *śodha* although the usual fee of Rs.500/- is charged from others. Besides offering various presents, they adorn the deities with valuable clothes and ornaments, say their prayers, read the *Viṣṇusahasranāma* and the *Śrīmad Bhāgawat Gītā*. They worship the gods in *ṣoḍośopacāra* which takes nearly three hours.



X

Temple during the British Rule

In 1803 A.D., during the time of Governor General Lord Wellesley[1], Orissa then the only remaining seaboard province on Coromandel Coast was ceded to the British Government by the Bhonslā house of Nāgpur. Three battalions of British force, one from Gunjām, another from Midnāpur (commanded by Colonel Harcort & Captain Morgan), and the third by sea from Calcutta via Bālāsore (under Colonel Fergusson) marched in to take possession of Purī [2]. Prior to the arrival of the first battalion, the *paṇḍās* and the *Muktimaṇḍapa puṇḍits* proceeded to a considerable distance to welcome it as if in response to their sincere prayers, saviours had arrived from the so called *Śwetadwīpa* (the white island in *Kṣīrasāgar* ?) to contain their incessant miseries of three centuries by establishing law and order. The *puṇḍits* recited *Vedic maṅgaḷārpaṇa* (benediction) and the *paṇḍās* presented garlands, *Śrīkarpūra*, and *Śrīcandana* in plates in their cordial reception.They have now no dreads to apprehend as before to conceal their *dārubrahma* idols like a cat in trouble carrying away its litter for safe and secret deposit. As mentioned earlier, it has been an antiquated custom with *paṇḍās* and Brahmins of the Temple to visit all parts of India to preach Jagannāthism, make disciples with grains of *nirmālya*, and to bring pilgrims to the shrine. They had long realized the organised system of administration, which had borne fruits in other provinces under the British Rule.

1. On the eve of the entry of Company forces into Purī, Wellesley's order to Lt. Col Campbell was "...you will employ every possible precaution to preserve the respect, due to the pagoda.... no part of the property, treasure, or valuable article of any kind, contained in the pagoda of Jagannath, or in any religious edifice, or possessed by any of the priests or Brahmins or persons of any description attached to the temples or religious institutions is to be considered as prize to any army.... You will strictly enjoin those under your command to observe your order on this important subject with the utmost degree of accuracy and vigilance." (Despatches etc. of the Marquis Wellesley during his administration in India. M. Martin. Ed., Vol.III.)

2. Although Puri was occupied on 18th September 1803 A.D., the East India Company had its foothold in Gunjām as far back as 1767 A.D.

The Temple was handed over to the new conquerors who guaranteed freedom of faith and worship; and promised proper protection and improvements in return. They assured that they were unlike the conquerors of the past determined to carry out plunders and leave trials of devastation. Soon they marched towards Cuttack after appointing an officer to look after the administration of the Temple. The Marāṭhās under their Subedar vainly opposed the British force on the way and then stood a siege in Barabāti fort (Cuttack) for a week; and on being defeated stole away leaving the province to their opponents.

Prior to the British possession of the province, there existed an undercurrent of strong misunderstanding between the semi-independent kings of Khurdā and the Marāṭhās as the latter refused to relinquish their possession over the mortgaged estates of Khurdā (in Purī Sub-Division) including the Jagannātha Temple and 14 *gurjāt māhāls*. Rājārām Paṇḍit, one wily Marāṭhā Subedar had advantageously, for the first time, imposed on kings Rs 10,000/- as tribute for Khurdā. The reigning *Mahārājā* Mukund Dev II as a representative of Orissa royal family had, from the beginning, sided with the British conquerors and hoped to have justice from their hands. But he appeared to be very hasty and impatient. It was quite impossible for the new conquerors to accede to his wishes all at once before they had fully investigated the claims. As before, the new Board of Commissioners took possession of the outlying estates together with the Jagannātha Temple claimed by Mukund Dev II and called upon the *rājās* of *gurjāts* to renew treaty engagements. This seemed to have offended Mukund Dev who was in the mean time unfavourably reported to have carried out clandestine plots with other *rājās* against the British.

The Board of Commissioners soon issued an injunction (1804 A.D.) directing Mukund Dev II not to maintain any contact with others outside his state. Unfortunately, a month afterwards some *pāiks* of Khurdā border committed dacoity in a village near Pipili. The Board deemed it as aggressive actions of Mukund Dev in connivance with the Marāṭhās who did not by then fully cleared out of the province. Alarmed at incoming reports and moreover to secure the British possession and avenge the king's so-called belligerence, the new Board dispatched two battalions (one each from Cuttack & Gunjam) to attack Khurdā[3]. This was done before ascertaining his capacity or carefully examining the veracity of the reports. Eventually, Mukund Dev was seized, dethroned, and escorted to Cuttack as a state prisoner pending further enquiries[4]. For their complicity in the

3. Harcourt had commented, "Our moderation has been construed into weakness, our silence into ignorance, and our endeavours to conciliate into apprehension and fear."

4. On the 4th December 1804 A.D. the Khurdā fort was seized and the *Rājā* was captured on 3rd January 1805 A.D. Before his release, he was incarcerated first at Cuttack and later shifted to Midnāpore. Khurdā was soon declared as Khāsmāhāl (Company land) and Major Fletcher remained in its charge.

plots against the British administration, Jayakṛṣṇa (*alias* Jayee) Rājguru Mahāpātra and others were hanged afterwards.

In 1807 A.D., Mukund Dev was set free and permitted to reside at Purī. He was granted a political pension of Rs. 2333/- per month for his subsistence and Khurdā was brought under the direct management of the Government. In 1817 A.D., he was again suspected to have implicated himself in the *pāik* rebellion of Khurdā headed by Jagabandhu Bidyādhar, his former *Buxi* (commander) of the *pāik* force. And once more the king was made a prisoner and confined at Bārabāti fort. The same year he died there leaving behind his minor son and family to the care of the British Government.

It is very difficult though not impossible to ascertain at such a distance of time whether Mukunda Dev II was really plotting against the British when he expected to have atonements from them for the injustice done to him by the Marāṭhās. At the time of conquest of Orissa, the proclamation of liberal policy of Lord Wellesley to respect the lawful rights and privileges of princes and people must have swollen his hope to regain his lost territories. But his claims, ignored at the first instance, apparently pending further enquiries might have irritated him giving rise to an unfavourable countenance towards the subordinate local authorities whom he approached. This must have at last dejected him as several attempts to materialise his just claims proved futile. It is of no credit to believe that the Marāthās who in fact had cheated his house of vast territories and for whom he had grudges, induced him to plot against the new conquerors. What was then his alleged motive against the British who had long since established their reputation in India and especially when he himself was in a helpless condition, best proved by their royalty being nearly ousted in 1760 A.D. by an influential *zamindār* of Khimiḍi (Khemunḍi) during the time of his grandfather? Even if detected for his secret plots allegedly initiated by his *Dewān* and others, was he (as the tottering representative of the royal house of Orissa) capable enough to drive out the British conquerors with the help of only a handful of disorderly *pāiks* at his command to redeem himself as an independent king of the once famous Gaṅga family? If so, it must have been a mere caprice of half-insanity and an outcome of wrongful loss of territories and hereditary authority over the Jagannātha Temple. This exceptional crime falling within the reach of forgiveness should have been taken leniently by the British authorities or they might have issued a serious warning to Mukund Deb than resorting to such a speedy and comprehensive military action against him.

All that can be assumed now is that (1) the local subordinate authorities misrepresented the matter relating to Mukund Dev and to conceal their deficiencies, made a mountain out of a mole hill; and (2) the then Government acted upon such reports forgetting for the time being the broad principles of

their liberal policy while dealing with the royal house at a critical time. It is a matter of anguish that the representative of the once famous kings of Orissa, who were honoured with a splendid kingdom by Moghul Emperor Akbar and continued to reign semi-independently for three centuries, lost his all in a premature military action for no serious fault; and no favourable reconsiderations of the just and lawful claims of the unhappy family were made. This was ironically at a time when the reputation of the British liberal policy in upholding the prestige and honour of the longstanding indigenous political institutions in India had reached its climax.

Since 1803 A.D., the British Government managed the Jagannātha Temple and its *Satāiś Hazārī* estate[5] and paid Rs 53,000/- annually for its maintenance. But in 1806 A.D., the management was entrusted to a committee of three *paṇḍits*. In 1809 A.D., the committee was made defunct and *Maharājā* Mukund Deb II returned as the head of the management *sans* full controlling powers. In 1840 A.D., the pilgrim tax (fetching an income of Rs nine lakh a year) imposed by Moghuls and maintained by the Marāṭhās was abolished. Mukund Dev's son *Mahārājā* Rāmacandra Dev III was restored as the permanent Superintendent with absolute authorities because the Khurdā royal families were the descendants of the independent kings of Orissa who had full control over the temple and were the *sevāyat* proprietors. The Government however continued as before in paying Rs 53,000/- towards the expenses of the temple. This wise piece of liberal policy was then very cordially appreciated and welcomed by the Hindus. In 1843A.D., the Government returned to the *Rājā* , the *Satāiś Hazārī* estate yielding a revenue of Rs.17,420/- and paid the outstanding expenses of Rs. 35,738/- from Puri treasury. But the amount incidentally was reduced to Rs. 23,321/- in 1845 A.D.

Mahārājā Rāmacandra Dev dispensed with the services of the *Parichā* and some other functionaries of the Temple which he managed with success. As an able administrator, his memory is still cherished by the people of Orissa. He shifted to the royal palace built during his time on the grand road from the old palace of Bāli Sāhi (Puri). He died in 1853 A.D. and was succeeded by his son Bīrakiśore Deb who later died in 1859 A.D.

Out of the annual grant of Rs.23,321/-, the Government contributed Rs.6804/- in 1856 A.D. towards the expenses of the police maintained by it for peace and order in the Temple. In the year 1858 A.D., the Government endowed an Estate called *Ekharājāt Māhāl* out of Khurdā yielding a revenue of Rs.16,827/- in lieu of payment made annually to the Temple from the treasury. Later, as the *Rājā* was held solely responsible for peace and order, he was directed to recruit a police

5. Originally, endowed by Marāṭhās to the Temple of Jagannātha, the "*Satāis Hazāri Māhāl*" mostly comprised of villages of Puri Sadar area.

force. An additional estate out of Khurdā yielding Rs.6, 889/- was again endowed thus the total income of the *Ekharājāt Māhāl* was Rs.23,716/-. This *māhāl* consists of 124 villages covering an area of 67,520 acres (the whole of *killāh* Tāpaṅg) and 51 villages of *killāh* Rāmeśwar in Khurdā. This rent - free compact estate endowed by the benign British Government exceeds all the endowments of *bhāga* paying scattered lands in the state by 4345 acres.

Although the grandeur of the shrine was known far and wide in those halcyon days, it reached its pinnacle when Orissa lost her independence. The temple was then pulsating with life because of its grand festivities and ceremonials. The scale of expenditure on *bhogas* and other heads such as salaries paid to the *sevaks* had to be curtailed upon Mahommedan conquest. Things came to such a pass that small shares in *bhoga*, known as *kheyi*, were to be given to the servitors as a consequence of the confiscation of temple lands. Not only for once or twice but for fifteen times, successive predatory incursions were made to the temple to plunder its untold treasures (ch. IV ante). Yet the *Bhoi* kings of Orissa, as the *Sevāyat* proprietor of the Temple, had maintained it through thick and thin. In doing so and upholding thereby its highest sanctity, they had suffered heavy losses from time to time, for which they justly deserve an immense debt of gratitude from the Hindus. So long the Marāṭhās held the charge of the temple, its expenditure was met from the pilgrim tax (Rs Nine lakh per year) besides the revenue of the *Satāiś Hazārī* estate. For all these and the expenses incurred on many of the present valuable ornaments etc of the gods, they deserve no credit as they did not include the huge *pinḍikā* (presents offered to the deities) collected during their time in the Temple account.

The vexatious pilgrims tax (an obnoxious impost) imposed by later Moghul Emperors with *jabardasti* (force) on pilgrims was unlawful and perpetuated strongest racial hatred and antipathy. The shrewd Marāṭhās maintained it as an easy source of revenue but it was prudently abolished to the general acclamation of the Hindus under the British rule. After defraying all the expenditures for previous years from the treasury, the Government generously endowed a big estate fetching then Rs. 41,136/- (including *Satāiś Hazārī* income) for the temple. This was over and above the miscellaneous revenue such as *pinḍikā* which met the temple's annual expenditure on a grand scale. The Hindu world must, in grateful emotion, accept the largesse as the greatest of all boons it has been enjoying from a foreign Christian Government. Though like Mahommedans quite alien in race and religion yet they are so liberal, catholic, and sympathetic towards the most venerated Hindu shrine. The great unsurpassed temple might have dwindled into insignificance and its adjunct in the midst of smaller temples deserted by now for discontinuance of all its feasts and festivities. More or less, in the process of destruction and decadence it might have presented a

gloomy aspect of it to the pilgrims. Gradually subjecting itself to an inevitable havoc, in no distance of time, this shrine of antiquities (like Koṇārk) would have been struggling between dashing waves of calamities in a troubled sea akin to the past three hundred years before the British advent. Had not the British administration rescued it and injected a peaceful life of health and spirit into its very system with particular care from the very beginning, it would have surely sunken down to eternity. While taking over charge, its promises made to the Hindus through Lt. Colonel Harcourt regarding protection and improvement of the temple were thus, as it seems, profusely fulfilled to a better.

During the minority of Dibyasiṃha Dev (the adopted son of Bīrakiśore Dev II), his mother *Rāṇī* Sūryamaṇi Paṭṭamahādevī was appointed as his trustee to manage the temple. In youth Dibyasiṃha Dev was charged with a culpable homicide and was sentenced to transportation for life in 1877. During the minority of his son, Mukund Dev III, the *Rāṇi* again managed the Temple till he came of age. Mukund Dev received no education and was surrounded since his boyhood by obsequious low flatterers. Within a few years of his Superintendentship, the temple affairs sadly drifted into great confusion and disorder. As collection of revenue from the estates fell into arrears and cases of embezzlements were reported, the *Raja* was pushed into heavy debts. There was utter irregularity in the performance of Lord's festivities and in many instances their non-performance were reported everywhere. The Government, however, advised the imbecile prince to take on lien the services of a gazetted officer as his manager.

Deputy Collector *Rāi Bāhādūr* Rāj Kishore Dās joined as the first manager and successfully served the temple for ten years. It is said, he took charge of some two or three pices only as cash in the treasury. He introduced a system borrowed from the Government that adjusted the temple's annual income and expenditure under his active vigilance. After defraying all the expenses on its proper scale, he liquidated all previous debts; and the rituals, feasts, and festivities of the temple were regularised. He rebuilt the *Koili vaikuṇṭha* building, the *Jhulaṇa maṇḍapa*, the kitchen houses, the office building, and also effected some repairs on the Temple. The granaries and godowns were established by him in such varieties of scale that nothing was purchased from local shops for the god's *bhoga*, dressing, and other purposes. The old gold ornaments were replaced by a new set of decent ones; and it was in his time that cars were for the first time dragged to the *Guṇḍicā mandira* in a day as they used to be in the days of independent kings of Orissa. He too newly organised a police force and dispensed with the occasional services of the Government police in the temple. Besides many petty repairs of the main Temple, he completely repaired *Guṇḍicā mandira*. The abuses that crept in from the time of Dibyasiṃha Dev under the trusteeship of a *pardānasīn Rāṇī* were swept away

forever. The system of management, he introduced, is still being followed by his successors. He added *Bhāratī* estate to Jagannātha's *zamīndārī* by impressing upon its proprietor to execute a 'will' of gift.

Prior to Government management, during the last decade of the 19th century, Sarjan Dās of Samādhi *maṭha* by collecting small donations had commenced the repair works of the Temple that was afterwards taken up by a Government engineer. Under the patronage of the Government and the public the main Temple, the *Mukhaśāḷā*, the *Nāṭamandira*, and the *Bhogamanḍapa* temples were repaired probably for the first time during the British rule.

Rāi Sāheb Gauriśyām Mahāntysucceeded *Rāi Bāhādūr* Rājkishore Dās. He was the most favourite and popular manager on account of his pious virtues and sociable nature and for being ever active and attentive to the *nītis* and *bhogas* of gods, little caring for the constraints posed by the Temple's miscellaneous revenue. He started the present flower garden and took particular care of it. He started new gardens and embankments with coconut plantations for the protection of the Estate's *khās* possession lands which he brought under the temple's '*nijjote* ' and the aforesaid measures have long begun to bear fruits in adding to the revenue. As a perfect gentleman and a sincere devotee, he was the only manager who carried himself all honourably throughout.

His successor, *Bābu* Bāḷamukunda Kānungo rebuilt the front portion of the residence of the royal family. The *Rājā veśa* (dressing in gold) of gods on cars on *Hariśayana Ekādaśī* was newly started from his time with the permission of the then *Rāj sevāyat* proprietor. This is a much awaited occasion which enables the general public to witness it (the *veśa*) with convenience and ease.

The fourth manager of the temple was *Rāi Bāhādūr* Sakhi Chānd - a Behāree gentleman. He was formerly the Superintendent of Purī district police. In that capacity, he had extended valuable services to the public during the famine of 1919 - 1920 A.D ; and in course of which he had also, for the first time in Orissa, picked up a large number of orphans at Purī. His generous activities were palpable in some other noble directions of which Purī *annachatra* and beggar's hospital deserve special mention. He has left behind a good record of his temple service. In his time, the main Temple, the series of minor temples, and the compound walls (inner & outer) were repaired out of the fund he had collected as donations from generous moneyed men not belonging to Orissa. The flight of stairs behind the Lions' gate (*Bāiśi pābacha*) and those behind the other three gates were repaired. Stone pavement in *Ānand Bazār* was made and alongwith this several *pasarā* buildings were repaired and a good staging house was also constructed thereat. He painted the *Jagamohana* or *Nāṭamandira* as a *Jaganmohana* - an object of charming interest to all. The nice decoration of cars and the *candana* procession testify to his refined taste. He had sunk, out

of his own money, a well at the Lions' gate for the benefit of the pilgrims. The creation of a *bhoga* and destitute funds to feed and help the poor and the distressed will ever survive his name as a saint. Even after all these lavish expenditures on public convenience, Sakhi Chānd is said to have left a hard cash of about a lakh of rupees in the temple treasury.

The fifth and the last manager was *Lālā* Āsutosh who started a second flower garden out of the wastelands in *Koili vaikuṇṭha.* His term of office was abruptly terminated after a year when *Maharājā* Mukund Dev III died. And under orders of the Government, he made over the charge of the temple to *Maharājā Śrī, Śrī, Śrī* Rāmacandra Dev IV, the adopted son of Mukund Dev III on 8.8.1926 who has since been managing the Temple by himself.

The manifold developments under the British rule are not subjects to be discussed here in this little work except a passing reference to a few in connection with the Jagannātha Temple. It has already been mentioned how the British Government took particular care of the temple, defrayed its expenditure of past years, provided a rich rent - free estate for its permanent maintenance, and vested with the *Rāj sevāyāt* proprietor full controlling powers. Before the British rule there was no proper road system in India. The pilgrims and the devotees had to undertake tedious journeys running even into months through fields and jungles to the shrine. The metalled road system especially the grand trunk road was of great help to them, making their journeys convenient and safe to visit Jagannātha. As dacoity, robbery, and especially *thuggi* were all suppressed on royal roads, the number of pilgrims and devotees gradually increased. At last, the railway system relieved them of all sorts of troubles and inconveniences.

Puri town has considerably improved of late. Its importance as a seaside sanatorium on the east - coast has undoubtedly been realised by people living far off since the railway communication. On the miles long seashore, numerous palatial buildings have been built by *rājās*, *mahārājās*, and the like of different provinces and the town has doubled its former size on the seashore under a well organized municipality. Constant visit of pilgrims and visitors in large numbers throughout the year has enhanced the condition of the *sevaks* and others.

The Mahommedans have now no stern or sullen attitude towards the Hindus and Hinduism and they both embrace each other as brothers. Those days of temple destroying, idol breaking, and plunder have gone forever. Western education has opened their eyes to a common cause and brewed a spirit of tolerance and mutual co-operation between the sects and divisions of Hindus, Mahommedans, Jains, and Buddhists. Non-Hindus even visit Hindu shrines with ardent love and co-operate with them, actuated by the noble examples set by some British government officials who like *paramārthī* patriarchs are taking care of people who in reality profess doctrines of Hinduism not agreeable to theirs.

At Puri, the Government have long since established a pilgrims' hospital on a large scale and have provided additional facilities on festive occasions and take particular care of pilgrims all the time by making the best sanitary arrangements available. Since the introduction of railways, the difficulty for the accommodation of pilgrims is being experienced at Puri. Some virtuous rich men have built palatial buildings as *dharmaśālās* (now twelve) in which nearly 25,000 pilgrims of all classes may safely be accommodated at a time on festive occasions. The stone built three-storeyed *dharmaśālā* conspicuously located on the grand road and looking over to the left the whole range of the great tower of Jagannātha is the one founded by Śrī Harirāmjee Goenkā, K.C.I.E of the renowned Goenkā House of Calcutta. It is the best one of the lot in Purī under a well organized managing staff and with best arrangements, which in its locally unsurpassed magnitude, height, and elegance of construction, at once strikes the passing pilgrims to ask for accommodation; and is ever fully occupied even on non-festive occasions.

As the paramount power, the British Government takes paternal care of the officials and cordially co-operate with the Superintendent in rendering all necessary help during great festivities for the convenience of the pilgrims and others. In short, the Government helps the temple in every possible way in fulfillment of their promises made to the people when they first took possession of the country(i.e., Orissa). It has already been mentioned that the Government abolished the vexatious tax imposed on pilgrims in 1840 A.D.

Despite all prosperities and improvements of the temple and the town, I am to record here that during the British rule the great charm and beauty of Jagannātha *dhām* have been diluted and the temple authorities are to be blamed for this. The *Muktimanḍapa Panḍit Sabhā* which once patronised various aspects of Sanskrit learning is now nothing more than its mere name.The descendants of the once famous *punḍits* of the *Sabhā* i.e. the *'śāsan brāhmaṇs'* who have their exclusive rights over *Muktimaṇḍapa*, the second in holiness to *Ratnasiṃhāsana* were reduced to the condition of beggars on account of their non-transferable landed proprieties, which they had been enjoying for centuries. Upon its being recorded as transferable tenures, they now gradually sell their properties to others. After the execution of Jaya Kṛṣṇa Rājaguru Mahāpātra (1805 A.D.), the *sāsan brāhmaṇas* were so intimidated and disappointed that they never appeared before the British officers. When the status of their *Brahmottar Jāgir Taṅki* (non-transferable lands) turned-out as *Taṅki Bāheli* (transferable tenures) in settlements, these *Lakṣmīchadās* (god forsaken as they are) sold over three quarters of such lands to others. The *brāhmaṇa sāsans* (inhabitations) which once appeared like *' Badarikāśramas'* in Purī district have nearly turned out into deserted villages, making visitors burst into tears to see the

deplorable condition of the descendants of the once very learned *brāhmāṇa punḍits* who had adorned the *Muktimanḍapa* and commanded respect and reverence from all. It is absolutely their folly. If a person does not want to stand and walk on his own then no one else can make him to do so.

The present succession to the Superintendentship of the Temple since 14th February 1926 by young *Mahārājā* Rāmacandra Dev IV of the well-known royal family of Bāmarā[1] (Bāmanḍā) - a scion of the former *Gaṅga* dynasty- is marked with general acclamation with a forecast that better days for the Temple and the locality are imminent as His Highness coming of a high stock of *kṣatriyas*, to all appearance, is shining and promising. Yet, how far *Rājā* Mukunda Dev III was justified in his prolonged protest ever to the present successor would be known in the coming years in view of the upkeep of the time honoured prestige and traditional conservatism of the once famous house of the *Gajapati* kings of Orissa. It is further expected that the grievances of cruel injustice meted out to Jagannātha's *Satāiś Hazārī* and *Ekharājāt* people in totally ignoring their natural claims over appointments in the Temple services by Government managers while showing preference for outsiders would be gradually redressed from his time once for good.

1. It is now the revenue district of Deogarh (Orissa).



LIST OF APPENDICES

APPENDIX - A

Maṭhas of Puri

Maṭhas (*mutts*) are a common sight in Puri and they are widely scattered. In addition to their primary responsibility of performing certain rituals in the temple of Jagannātha, they provide shelter to pilgrims and mendicants visiting the shrine and facilitate in the propagation and preservation of the cult of Jagannātha. The *mahantas* of these religious centres were patronized by the kings in various ways for their services rendered to the Temple either daily or on festive occasions only. They were offered land at vantage places in Puri town and rural areas, enjoyed privileges like having ovens in *roṣaghara* (kitchen), *saraghara* (storehouse) in the temple, or allowed to perform *ālaṭa* and *cāmara sevā*. The following are some *maṭhas* of different cults alongwith their roles in various rituals / functions of the Temple :

Vaiṣṇava Cult :

Baḍachatā *Maṭha* - *Bābājīs* of this *maṭha* perform *saṃkīrtana* daily at the *Jaya-Vijay* door during its opening in the morning, during *maṅgaḷa ārati* , *bāḷadhūpa*, and *pahuḍa*. Similar services are also offered to the deities at the Guṇḍicā temple. In addition to the traditional *ālaṭa* and *cāmara sevā*, the *maṭha* performs *saṃkīrtana* in the *Candanyātrā* procession and during *Doḷayātrā*; and supplies materials for the *Padma veśa* of the Jagannātha triad.

Baḍa Oriya *Maṭha* - It was founded by *Atibaḍi* Jagannatha Das. Materials for *bāḷabhoga, aṇabasara paṇā, adhara paṇā*; *ghee* in *Kārttik* for *akhanḍa dīpa* and *til* (sesame) oil for *phuluri lāgi* during *aṇabasara*; and the *cānduā* over the *Ratnasiṃhāsana* are supplied by this *maṭha.*

Emār *Maṭha* - It belongs to the Rāmānuja *sampradaya.* In addition to the *ālaṭa* and *cāmara sevā* for *Baḍasiṃharā vesa*, this *maṭha* supplies *causara* and *candrikā* (both of flowers). It offers *bāḷabhoga* in the month of *Kārttik* to the deities.

Jagannātha Ballav *Maṭha* - It sends *dihuḍi* for *abakāśa, bhoga* for *Gopāḷa ballava*, and three garlands for the *Baḍasiṃhāra veśa* of the deities daily. During *Bhitar Candanayātrā*, this *maṭha* sends flowers and performs *dihuḍi sevā* on the *cāpas* (boats). The *caḷanti prātimās* of Rāmakṛṣṇa, Madanamohana, and Durgā-Mādhava come here depending on Their participation on the occasion of *Doḷayātrā, Lākhabindhā, Śrī Rāmanavamī* , and *Deva dīpābaḷi* etc. On *Aśokāṣṭamī, Śrī* Lokanātha arrives here from the temple. This *maṭha* offers milkcream to Jagannātha Temple for the *Baṇabhoji veśa* in *Bhādrab.* On *Nṛsiṃha caturdaśī* , the ritual slaying of *Hiraṇyakaśipu* is performed by *Śrī* Nṛsiṃha Dev here. On other occasions like,

Rathayātrā, Praḷambāśūra baddha, Dayaṇācori, and *Śītaḷaṣaṣṭhi* etc, it performs traditional duties.

Jhāñjapiṭā ***Maṭha*** - There is a large congregation of devotees at this *maṭha* just before *Rathayātrā* and they are mostly from West Bengal. The cleaning of the Guṇḍicā temple is done by them alongwith others the day before the festival and this practice is described in *Śrī Caitanya-Caritāmṛta.* Singing *kīrtanas* and carrying different things on their heads (required for their job and subsequent mass feasting), they move in files which is known as *Rāghavacāli* (the walk of Rāghava). In addition to this, they perform *saṃkīrtanas* in the Jagannātha temple extolling the greatness of the Lord.

Pāṭarā ***Maṭha*** - Performs *cāmara sevā* in the temple and supplies primarily silk clothes and ropes etc during *Rathayātrā* and *Navakaḷevara.*

Rādhāballav ***Maṭha*** - It performs *cāmara* and *ālaṭa sevā* in the temple.

Rādhākanta ***Maṭha*** - In addition to *cāmara* and *ālaṭa* services, the *bābājīs* of this *maṭha* perform *saṃkīrtana parikramā* in the temple premises daily.

Rāghav Dās ***Maṭha*** - It supplies materials for the *Gajānana veśa* of *Śrī* Jagannatha and *Devī* Subhadrā on *Snāna Pūrnamī*. Twelve *ṭāhiyās,* which adorn the deities on the occasion of *Rathayātrā* (at the *Sāta pāhānca* during *pahanḍi*), *Bāhuḍāyātrā, Snāna Pūrnamī,* and *Nīḷadri Vijay* come from here. *Adharapaṇā* on the chariots and *Sarbāṅga panti bhoga* on the eve of *Ghaṭa paribartana* during *Navakaḷevara* are offered by this *maṭha.*

Trimāḷi ***Maṭha***- Performs *ālaṭa* and *cāmara sevā* in the temple; and supplies *dihuḍi* (torch) during *abakāśa* and *ballava* rituals.

Uttarapārśwa ***Maṭha*** - In addition to *ālaṭa* and *cāmara sevā,* it sends materials (butteroil, wheatflour, & sugar) for preparing *mohanabhoga* for the deities

Śākta Cult :

Gaṅgāmātā ***Maṭha*** - Performs *ālaṭa* and *cāmara sevā* in the temple.

Saiva Cult :

Gobardhana ***Maṭha*** - Established by *Adi* Śaṅkarācārya, this *maṭha* is also known as *Bhogabardhana Pītha.* The *sanyāsīs* of this *maṭha* had control over the spiritual administration of the temple and to some extent it exists even now. Earlier they had a seat in the *Bhogamanḍapa* to look after issues connected with the temple.

Gopāḷa Tīrtha ***Maṭha*** - For the *Gajānana veśa* of *Śrī* Baḷabhadra and *Śrī* Sudarśan on *Snāna Pūrṇamī,* this *maṭha* supplies required dress materials.



APPENDIX - B

Images of Viṣṇu as per *Āyudhas* in His hands

After the removal of the thick lime plaster in the 1970s many hitherto unknown sculptures have been unveiled on the body of the main Temple including twentyfour independent images of Viṣṇu differing as per arrangement of *śaṅkha* (conch), *cakra* (discus), *gadā* (mace), and *padma* (lotus) in His hands. Their description follows :-

Sl. No.	Form	Upper Hands Right	Upper Hands Left	Lower Hands Left	Lower Hands Right
1	KEŚAVA	*Saṅkha*	*Cakra*	*Gadā*	*Padma*
2	NĀRĀYAṆA	*Padma*	*Gadā*	*Cakra*	*Saṅkha*
3	MĀDHAVA	*Cakra*	*Saṅkha*	*Padma*	*Gadā*
4	GOVINDA	*Gadā*	*Padma*	*Saṅkha*	*Cakra*
5	VIṢṆU	*Padma*	*Saṅkha*	*Cakra*	*Gadā*
6	MADHUSŪDANA	*Saṅkha*	*Padma*	*Gadā*	*Cakra*
7	TRIVIKRAMA	*Gadā*	*Cakra*	*Saṅkha*	*Padma*
8	VĀMANA	*Cakra*	*Gadā*	*Padma*	*Saṅkha*
9	ŚRĪDHARA	*Cakra*	*Gadā*	*Saṅkha*	*Padma*
10	HṚṢIKEŚA	*Cakra*	*Padma*	*Saṅkha*	*Gadā*
11	PADMANĀVA	*Padma*	*Cakra*	*Gadā*	*Saṅkha*
12	DĀMODARA	*Saṅkha*	*Gadā*	*Cakra*	*Padma*
13	SAṄKARṢAṆA	*Saṅkha*	*Padma*	*Cakra*	*Gadā*
14	VĀSUDEVA	*Saṅkha*	*Cakra*	*Padma*	*Gadā*
15	PRADYUMNA	*Saṅkha*	*Gadā*	*Padma*	*Cakra*
16	ANIRUDDHA	*Gadā*	*Saṅkha*	*Padma*	*Cakra*
17	ADHOKṢAJA	*Gadā*	*Saṅkha*	*Cakra*	*Padma*
18	PURUṢOTTAMA	*Padma*	*Saṅkha*	*Gadā*	*Cakra*
19	NARASIṂHA	*Padma*	*Gadā*	*Saṅkha*	*Cakra*
20	ACHYUTA	*Padma*	*Cakra*	*Saṅkha*	*Gadā*
21	UPENDRA	*Cakra*	*Saṅkha*	*Gadā*	*Padma*
22	JANĀRDANA	*Gadā*	*Cakra*	*Padma*	*Saṅkha*
23	HARI	*Cakra*	*Padma*	*Gadā*	*Saṅkha*
24	ŚRĪKṚṢṆA	*Gadā*	*Padma*	*Cakra*	*Saṅkha*



APPENDIX - C*

Extracts of the "*Dārḍhyatā Bhakti Rasāmṛta*"

The following is a narration (in Oriya) about a Brahmin widow and her son Sāla Beg born out of wedlock with her abductor- consort Subedar Lāl Beg. It helps to form an idea as to the highhandedness of the then ruling Mughal power. A few stanzas of the "*Dārḍhyatā Bhakti Rasāmṛta*" (Ch.27) are reproduced below.

kaṭaka nāme sahara — lālbāgare tāra ghara
Jātire aṭai paṭhāna — tāhāra kathā ebe suṇa
mughala nāme lāla bega — tāhāra putra Sālabega

* * * *

se lāla bega ati dusṭa — khala prapañca buddhi nasṭa
sree gajapati dandadhāri — saṅgate satru paṇa kari
aneka sainya ṭhuḷa kalā — oḍisā jujhibāku galā
uchuḷe bādya bada ghora — oḍisā rājyare prabeśa
se mahārājye kalā jura — dhana ratana aḷaṅkāra
chāḍiṇa brāhmaṇa sāsaṇa — paḷāi gale sabu jana
tahuñ ekā bidhabā nārī — jaithilā je snāna kari
ekāki jaṇa jaḷa ghate — śunyatā dekhilā nikaṭe
ḍare se napārilā jāi — rahilā stambhībhuta hoi
eke brāhmāṇi du je jubā — ke kahi pāre tāra sūtra

* * * *

emanta nāri nadī kuḷe — ubhā tā jibana bikaḷe
emanta beḷe lāl beg āsi — miḷilā tāra āge
eke se dusṭa baḷabanta — tā aṅge baḷahi bahuta
bege dhailā tāra bhuja — mṛgai jenhe mṛgarāja

* * * *

gheniṇa caḷi galā bege — samasta sainyaṅkara age

* * * *

tā parā dekhi se yubatī — ati santāpe mathā poti
nayanu aśrudhārā gaḷe — kandi gaḍai mahī taḷe
tā nija kuṭumba sumari — balāi debi prāṇa hāri
tāhā dekhiṇa se paṭhāṇa — se nārī caraṇa dhariṇa

* * * *

aneka aḷaṅkāramāna — tā aṅge kalā manḍana

* * * *

daibe abaḷā śarīra — saṅkāhi sinā mūḷa tāra

* * * *

emanta kete dina galā | *se nāri putra prasabilā*
putraku dekhi lāl bega | *tā nāma delā sālabega*

* * * *

ati ārate Sālabega | *kahilā jananira āge*

* * * *

suṇi janani śoka bhare | *kahilā putrara āgare*

* * * *

mote tu pachārilu jāhā | *śuṇa kahibi tote tāhā*
paṭhāṇa aṭe tora tāta | *muhin brāhmāṇī tora māta*
grāma mānaṅke ye uttama | *dāṇḍamukuṇḍapura nāma*
sehi grāmare mora ghara | *nathilā mo sāsu śwaśura*
to bāpā yuddhe jāithilā | *saṅge bahuta sainya thile*

* * * *

mun jāithili snāna kari | *tahun āṇilā mote dhari/*

(Listen to the story of Lal Beg, the Mughal who lived at Lalbaug, Cuttack and the father of Sālabeg. He was very wicked and the fountain-head of all evil designs. He developed animosity against the powerful *Gajapati Mahārājā.* He gathered a large army. Amidst loud beatings of drums, he entered the province of Orissa and fought with the king. As a result, all the inhabitants fled from the *brāhmaṇa śāsanas* (villages) of Dānḍamukundapur leaving behind everything including their riches. At this time, a widow went to take her bath and she was alone at the waterbody. Struck with fear, she could not leave the place owing to the approaching marauders. Her plight was beyond description. Accentuating her utter helplessness, the strong but wicked Lāl Beg appeared before her. Soon like "a lion mauling a deer", he held her upper arm and carried her away in front of all his soldiers. In captivity, she was highly terrified and tears streamed past her cheeks as she thought of her relatives. She had bouts of depression and contemplated to end her life. Seeing all these, the Pathān held her legs and apologised. Later, he presented her lots of gold ornaments. As a woman she could not insulate her any further and after some days, a son was born.)



APPENDIX - D*

Endowment of Land by Anaṅgabhīma Dev II

Sl. No.	Deities, sevaks ,and others	Area Given Bāṭi	Māṇa	Remarks
1.	Jagannātha Temple	(4b)	-	
2.	Markaṇḍeśwara	(1b)	-	
3.	Cakratīrtha	(3b)	-	
4.	Yameśwara	-	(10m)	
5.	Kapāḷamocana	-	(5m)	
6.	Mādhav, Matsamādhav, and Śwetagaṅgā	(2b)	-	
7.	Ugrasena Mādhav and Rukmiṇī Mādhav	-	(2m)	
8.	Dakṣīna Kāḷī	-	(2m)	
9.	Camuṇḍā	-	(2m)	
10.	Maricikā	-	(2m)	
11.	Arddhāsanī	-	(2m)	
12.	Sarbamaṅgaḷā	-	(5m)	
13.	Guṇḍicā Mandir	(2b)	-	
14.	Balinṛsiṃha Dev	-	(5m)	
15.	Niḷamādhav, Niḷakaṇṭheśwar, and Indradyumna	(2b)	-	
16.	Aḷambā or Alamcaṇḍi	-	(2m)	
17.	Other minor deities of the town	-	(10m)	
18.	Jagannātha and Baḷarāma park in the town	(130b)	-	
19.	Brāhmaṇas	(6b)	(6m)	
20.	52 *sanyāsi maṭhas*, @ one *māṇa* each	(2b)	(12m)	
21.	Two Mudrastha *maṭhas*, @10 *māṇas* each	(1b)	-	
22.	Puri *alias* Puruṣottam Ratha	(4b)	-	Who consecrated the temple after its reconstruction.
23.	*Daitā sevaks*	(6b)	-	In Daitāsahi

24.	*Pati sevaks*	(6b)	-	In Bhikhāripaḍā, Puruṣottam Dev of solar dynasty turned it in a *toṭā* (flower garden) containing a pond of lotus and gave 3 *bāṭis* to Pati *sevaks* on the grand road in exchange.
25.	*Pujāpanḍās* in Cuḍaṅga *sāhi*	(3b)	-	
26.	*Siṃhāri Paśupāḷakas* in Doḷamandap, Bāli, and Yameśwar *sāhis*	(3b)	-	
27.	*Suarās* and *Mahāsuārs* in Mudulisāhi	(3b)	-	
28.	Other *sevaks* in all seven *sāhis*	(20b)	-	
29.	Maṇikapāṭṇā watchman	-	(10m)	
30.	*Dobandhā Cāpadaḷei*	-	(10m)	
31.	*Parichhā* and *Parbakaraṇa*	(3b)	-	
32.	*Jaḷakuḷa prajās*	(20b)	-	
33.	*Kumbhārs*	(7b)	-	
	Total-	**232 *Bāṭi***	**5 *Māṇa***	**(or 1161¼ acres)**

Rent free land to the extent of 1364 *bāṭis* in the country were given by Anaṅgabhīma Deb to the *sevaks* for their maintenance.

Later, Naḷapaḍā on Indradyumna tank was named Rājāpaḍā and endowed to *Kumbhārs* again by King Kapileṅdra Dev, the area being three *bāṭis*.



APPENDIX - E*

Budget of the Temple During the Reign of Anaṅgabhīma Dev II

It appears from the budget estimate of the newly created Estate of the Temple at the time of *Mahārājā* Anaṅgabhīma Dev II that *bhāga* (share)of paddy was being collected from the tenants as *rājāsva* (rent or the equitable demand of the state) at the rate of 20 *nauties*(in 14 *seer nauti*) or one *bharaṇa* in 3 ½ seer *gauṇi* per acre. The value of *bhāga* collected from each acre then was valued at 7 ½ *kāhāṇas* of cowries or Rs.2/8/-; and paddy was normally available at the rate of 32 *gouṇis* (measuring 3½ seers) per rupee.

The daily expenditure on the head of paddy being 7 *bharaṇa* (in 14 *seer nauti*) and the annual expenditure of paddy were 2,520 *bharaṇs*. The *parbayātrā* expenditure of paddy including *Makara saṃkrānti bhoga* was 200 *bharaṇas*. So the net expenditure throughout the year on the head of paddy was 2,720 *bharaṇs* (1,700 *śārada* & 1,020 *ḍāḷua*) in 14-*seer nauti*. 30 *kāhāṇas* per *Śārada bharaṇa* and 25 *kāhāṇas* per *Dāḷua bharaṇa* in the same *nauti* were the normal price of paddy current in his time.

Śārada valuation 1,700 x 30 =	51,000 *kāhāṇas*
Dāḷua do 1,020 x 25 =	25,500 *kāhāṇas*
Total valuation of *Dāḷua* and *Śārada*	76,500 *kāhāṇas*
Annual expenditure on some 23 heads of ghee, *dāl*, spices, vegetable, and firewood etc	1,48,500 *kāhāṇas*

Total of all expenditure on *bhoga*	2,25,000 *kāhānas*
Compensation for loss of crops on account of drought and floods (¼ of the total)	56,250 *kāhāṇas*
GRAND TOTAL :	**2,81,250 *kāhāṇas***

At 15 *kāhāṇas* per *māḍha of jiti* gold coin the above 2, 81,250 *kāhāṇas* were estimated	18,750 *maḍhas*
On 18 heads of clothes, *candana (sandal), aguru, kasturī (musk)*, and *karpura (camphor)* etc	3,650 *māḍhas*
The *parbayātrā* expenses throughout the year exclusive of paddy	3,260 *māḍhas*
The expenditure of other deities in the temple and in the town	4,250 *māḍhas*
Allowance of 52 Sanyasi *maṭha* throughout the year	1,040 *māḍhas*
Allowance of 2 Mudrastha *maṭha* throughout the year	450 *māḍhas*
Aṭhara Brahmāpur bhāga holders in the town 1313 *brāhmaṇs* ànd *sevaks*	2,626 *māḍhas*
Bartana or annual salaries of all *sevakas* of the temple and town deities.	5,004 *māḍhas*

***Bartana* or annual salaries**

Parichā of the Temple	300 *māḍhas*
Paṭṭnāik of the Temple	60 *māḍhas*
Beharaṇa Ḍagara	60 *māḍhas*
*Suānsi*ā works or annual petty repair	550 *māḍhas*
GRAND TOTAL	**40,000 *māḍhas***

(One *māḍha* = ½ *toḷa* of gold)



APPENDIX - F*

Reorganized *Nijogs* during the Reign of Anaṅgabhīma Deb II

1	*Rāj Nijog* (the king of Orissa himself from the time of Indradyumna)	*Caṅgḍa* fund (Pageants)	Exclusively to govern the whole system of the temple administration and to offer *Puṣpanjali* and perform '*Karpura Ārati*' in the temple and *Cherā-pahanrā* service (sweeping with gold brooms) *on Rathas* and on *Snānabedī* etc.
2	*Daitāpati Nijog*	300 *māḍhas*	The *Daitas* perform *Pahaṇḍi Vijay* ceremony and look after the idols during the days of *anabasara* just after *snānayātrā* and *Patis* perform *pūjā* on those days. They are body builders of gods on the occasion of *navakalevara*.
3	*Pūjāpanḍās*	200	To perform three '*ṣoḍaśopacāra*' and other '*pañcopācāra*' *pūjās* of gods and the daily *homa* (offering of ghee to fire in the kitchen).
4	*Paśupāḷak*	150	They are the dressers of gods and perform *abakāśa* in the morning and noon and evening *Āratis* etc.
5	*Chāmu Khunṭiā*	80	To receive garlands etc. from *Māḷis* and to supply them to *Paśupāḷakas* for dressing. They also share also responsibilities with *Mekāpas* in providing security to the gods.
6	*Mukhasinhāri*	60	To effect face painting
7	*Chaṅgaḍā Mekāpa*	30	Keeper and supplier of every day dressing clothes.
8	*Bhitar Bhanḍār Mekāpa*		To collect *pinḍikā* (presents) to Gods and give them to *Parichā* or to keep them in *bhanḍār*. Along with *Chamukhunṭiā*, he shares responsibilities as body guard of gods.
9	*Akhānḍa Mekāpa*	30	To light the *baiṭhās* (lamps) in *Maṇikoṭha*.
10	*Śejaghara Mekāpa*	20	To keep and provide cots and beddings with pillows etc. at the time of *pahuḍa* (sleep).
11	*Suārabaḍu*	30	To provide wooden horses (ladders) to *Pasupāḷāks* at the time of dressing and to wash *Maṇikoṭha* before and after the *Pūjās*.
12	*Patribaḍu*	20	To provide all *Upacara pātras* (plates) to *Pūjāpanḍās* at the time of *pūjā*.
13	*Bhitara Garābaḍu*	30	To provide water to deities at the time of *pūjā* and *Paśupāḷak* in *Maṇikoṭha*.
14	*Bāhāra Garābaḍu*	40	To provide water for outer uses and for *ghasā* water at the time of *pūjā*.
15	*Haḍapā Nāyaka*	20	To provide *biḍiā pāna* (betel) to *panḍās* to be offered to gods at the end of *pūjā*. And to offer the same at the time of *canḍana lāgi* on *cāpa* (the decorated boat).
16	*Brāhmaṇ Karaliā*	40	To rub or grind *canḍana* (sandal wood) for use of gods.
17	*Sugandha Ghaṭuāri*	30	To make preparations of sandal and essences in big '*piṅgaṇas* (silver plates).
18	*Sudhu Suār*	40	To sweep away *bhogas* accidentally fallen in *Mukhsālā* temple and to do other miscellaneous services on *parbajātras*. To wash *Ballabha pinḍi* before *ballabhpūjā*.
19	*Bhāta Suār*	150	They are 36 in number and are engaged in different functions to cook rice only.
20	*Juṇa Suār*	60	To cook *curry* and *dāl* etc.

21	*Kśīri Suār*	40	To cook *kśīri* (milk preparations)
22	*Sareya Pīṭha Suār*	100	To prepare *sarupīṭha* (fine cakes).
23	*Bagaḍā Pīṭha Suār*	80	To prepare coarse *pīṭhā* (cakes)
24	*Paṇā Suār*	30	To prepare *paṇā* or *sarbat.*
25	*Pachilia Suār*	10	To make a preparation of ginger with *tabhā* (citrus fruit) juice and salt.
26	*Mahāsuār*	50	To supervise cooking and see that *bhogas* are carried to gods duly and dressed in respectively *paṅktis* and to see ghee is poured and responds to calls of Paṇḍā.
27	*Brāhmaṇa Sāmarthā*	20	To make *biri* (black gram), rice, and other preparations for *pīṭha* (cakes).
28	*Śudra Sāmarthā*	20	To grind *biri* (blackgram), rice and spices.
29	*Tolābaḍu*	40	To carry cooked *bhogas* from the kitchen to *Maṇikoṭha* for offering.
30	*Panti Baḍu*	30	To receive *bhogas* in *Maṇikoṭha* and arrange them in *paṅktis.*
31	*Bhitar Bedhā Baḍu*	20	To distribute *mahāprasād* to the payees as ordered by *Parichā.*
32	*Ghia Parasā*	5	To put ghee in cooked rice in *Maṇikoṭha.*
33	*Muruja Sevak*	5	To put *Muruja* (a preparation of white powder) in *Maṇikoṭha* marking out *panktis.*
34	*Kuāuḍā Sevak*	5	To scarce away the crows when *Bhogas* are being carried.
35	*Tolabati*	-	To carry light along with *Bhogas* being carried to *Maṇikoṭha* at night.
36	*Sikābhaṅgā*	-	To prepare *coinsikas* to carry *bhāra* (load) of bhogs.
37	*Pāliaḍā Mekāpa*	10	To keep and provide *pāliaḍā* clothes to *Suārbaḍu.*
38	*Mahājana*	50	To dress the *calaṇti pratimās* (metal idols) on festive days and to perform *puspānjali* at the night *pahuḍa* (sleep).
39	*Roṣaghar Mekāpa*	10	To receive all articles of *bhoga* from godown and distribute them to *suāras* and others.
40	*Brāhmaṇa Pāik*	10	To guard the kitchen gate and see that *suāras* do not steal nor take in prohibited articles.
41	*Aṅgaruā*	5	To take out charcoal from the ovens after cooking is done.
42	*Dhopakhāla*	5	To wash and clean off the kitchen after night *pahuḍa.*
43	*Dwāranāyaka*	10	To guard the inner most door at the time of *bhoga.*
44	*Pāik Mudulī*	50	The key man. To padlock and seal the door of the temple and keep the key with him.
45	*Prasāda baḍu*	40	To carry *āśirbada cāula* from *Mukti mandap brāhmaṇs* and *phuladhaṇḍā prasāda* etc. to the *Mahārājā* at the end of *dhūpa.*
46	*Siṃhadwāra Pratihāri*	50	To guard the Jaya Vijay, sourthen *Beharaṇa* and *Dhokaḍi* gates And to tie *terā* cloth and call *bhogas* in all *dhūpas.*
48	*Āsthāna Pratihāri*	10	To guard trhe *Beharaṇa* house and carry out orders of *Parichā.*
49	*Parbajatra Pratihari*	10	To inform *parbajātra* days to *Parichā* and to carry *jātrābhoga* articles to kitchen form *Bisoi.*
50	*Chatā Sevak*	50	To unfold and hold *goḍi* (a large umbrella) at the time of *bhogas* and other occasions.
51	*Trāsa sevak*	5	To hold *trāsa.*
52	*Upacāra 'cāmara' sevak*	20	To use gold-handled '*cāmara*' in *Maṇikoṭha* at the time *bhoga.*
53	*'Ratna ālata' sevak*	20	To use '*Ratna ālata*' (fan studded with gems) in *Maṇikoṭha* at the time of *Bhoga.*
54	*Khadībichā sevak*	10	To fan a *Khadi* (cloth) to scare away flies at the time of *bhoga.*
55	*Dhwajādharā sevak*	15	To hold a flag at inner wooden barrier at the time of *bhoga.*

56	*Sunābeta sevak*	10	To hold a gold cane in *Maṇikoṭha* at the time of *bhoga*.
57	*Sunādihuḍi sevak*	20	To hold gold handled *dihuḍi* (torch) at the time of *Baḍasiṃhara* and *Puṣpanjali* at *Maṇikoṭha* door.
58	*Purāṇapandā sevak*	10	To read out *Purāṇa* at *Kaḷāhāta* door just when *tera* is closed in 3 *dhūpas* and at Jaya- Vijay door at the time of *Ballabh bhoga*.
59	*Mandaṇi Nāyaka sevak*	10	To keep clothing and other articles for the decoration of *Jatrā Manḍapas* and *Raths*.
60	*Manḍaṇi Khuntiā*	6	To decorate *Dolmanḍapa*, *Snāna manḍapa* and *Raths*.
61	*Darpaṇiā Sevak*	10	To hold *darpaṇas* (metal mirrors) at the time of *abakāśa* etc, in *Maṇikoṭha*.
62	*Bimānbaḍu Sevak*	20	To carry *vimāna* of of gods on festivals.
63	*Āndoḷā Baḍu sevak*	20	To carry *Andoḷa* of Bimaḷā and *Lakṣmī* on festivals.
64	*Mahābhoi sevak*	30	To milk the cows and make preparation of milk for *bhoga*.
65	*Aḍatia sevak*	20	To work in milk house under *Mahābhoi*.
66	*Dudhaghara Pāik*	5	To watch and guard the milkmen and milk house.
67	*Basanmaja sevak*	10	To cleanse all sorts of utensils and keep them clean for use.
68	*Ṣohaḷacitā Bindhāṇi*	10	To prepare *Sohaḷacitā* for use of Gods in car festivals.
69	*Ratnakāma Bindhāṇi*	75	To prepare ornaments set with precious stones.
70	*Mathākāma Bindhāṇi*	30	To prepare gold and silver ornaments.
71	*Cinarā sevak*	20	To test gold, silver, and precious stones presented to gods.
72	*Dipurīmahāsuār*	30	To sew dresses of gods.
73	*Ghanṭa sevak*	40	To sound or beat *ghanṭa* at the time of *pūjā* and on festivals.
74	*Bīrakāhāliā sevak*	10	To tune or play *bīrākāhāḷi* (bugle) at the time of *pūjā* and on festivities.
75	*Pāṭa Bindhāṇi Sevak*	10	To prepare *pāṭa* ropes for body building of gods during *Aṇabasara* and other silk works.
76	*Benṭabindhā Rāuta*	6	To shoot 6 *benṭas* or *śikars* to a *rohi* fish from *Basanta Pañcamī* to the following day of *Dolayātrā*.
77	*Pāhāntipāṇi Saṅkhuā Ṅijog*	10	To tune or sound double *Śaṅkhas* (conch shells) early in the morning before door is opened and single shell at the time of *Ballabha* and *Baḍasiṃhāra bhogas*.
78	*Mādeli sevak*	10	To beat *Mādaḷa* when *Debadāsi* dances at the end of morning and other *dhūpas* and on festive occasions.
79	*Saṅkha Mahurīā*	10	To tune *śaṅkha* and *mahurī* at the time of *dhūpas* and on festivities.
80	*Joḍikāhāḷiā sevak*	6	To tune double *kāhālis* at the time of *dhūpas* and on festivities.
81	*Upaṅgiā sevak*		To tune *upaṅga* at the time of *dhūpas* and festivities.
82	*Biṇākāra sevak*	10	To play the *biṇā* at the time of *dhūpas* and festivities.
83	*Gīta Gaena sevak*	10	To sing songs at the time of *Ballabh, Abakāśa, Baḍasiṃhār*, and *Puṣpānjali*.
84	*Cauṣathi Sampradāya*	180	They are '*Debadāsis*'; 64 groups or parties (*Bhitara gāheṇī* to dance and sing at the end of *dhūpas* and *Baḍasiṃhār*.
85	*Mina nāyaka sevak*	5	To secure punctual attendance of *debadasis* in the temple services.
86	*Bāhāra paharā sevak*	5	To sweep in the compound yard and keep it all clean.
87	*Jyotis Mahāsuār*	10	To read out to Gods *Pañji* of the day at the time of *Abakāśa*.
88	*Khuri Jagā sevak*	10	To watch and regulate *Khuri*, a kind of timekeeper still in use in the temple.
89	*Dayaṇā Māḷi sevak*		To plant *dayaṇā* in the garden and supply it daily.
90	*Godadhuā Paṇiā sevak*	3	To supply water to the *sevaks* to was feet.
91	*Badhāi Mahāraṇa*	40	To do carpentry work during nabakalevara and construction of *Rathas* (cars).

92	*Kamāra Mahāraṇā*	30	To do blacksmith's works.
93	*Pathuriā Mahāraṇā*	30	To do stone works.
94	*Rūpakāra sevak*	30	To work out images.
95	*Citrakār sevak*	12	Painters.
96	*Cinarā Mudulī*	50	To effect repairs and white washing.
97	*Tāmra Mahāraṇā*	10	To prepare utensils and plates.
98	*Kansārī Maharaṇa*	10	To prepare metal articles of use.
99	*Aṣṭalohī Mahāraṇā*	10	To prepare *ghaṇṭi* (small bells), *ghāgudī*, and mould idols in gold, silver, and brass.
100	*Kacarā Mahāraṇā*	6	To repair glass objects.
101	*Olarā sevak*	8	To hold *kaḷakaṇati.*
102	*Madhiāli Mahāsethī*	50	To wash clothes of gods.
103	*Goṭha palāi sevak*	250	Keepers in charge of herds of cows in *Chatiśkud daṇḍapāt.*
104	*Suānsiā sevak*	80	Occasional workmen engaged on festive days.
105	*Rathakātha Dauḍiābalā*	10	To twist coir ropes to draw cars.
106	*Cāpa daḷāi sevak*	30	To provide boats for *cāpa* and have them ready at Dobandhā to carry away gods in the event of an invasion.
107	*Boita dalei sevak* (also called *Aviā sevak*)	40	To keep ready *boita* (ship) at Māṇikāpāṭṇā to carry away gods in the event of an invasion.
108	*Bhātarā sevak* (also called *Bhāta sevak*)	10	To say aloud or proclaim the glory of gods at the time of *Abakāśa* and *dhupas.*
109	*Bhaṇḍāra karaṇa*	50	To keep up the accounts of God's '*bhaṇḍār*'.
110	*Deuḷa Karaṇa*	50	To keep up Temple's records as regards feasts and festivities etc.
111	*Kṣetra Baidya*	15	These two were town physician and surgeon given allowance from the temple fund for the treatment of local men as well as of pilgrims.
112	*Śastra Baidya*	15	Helpless patients were given shelter and diet and treated as indoor patients from the temple fund on approval of their cases by *Parichā.*
113	*Guhāriā pradhāni*	20	The watchman over the conduct of *sevaks.* Has to settle disputes under the supervision of *Parichā.* Secures the attendance of *Pūjāpaṇḍās* and also serves the *Paṇḍits* of *Muktimaṇḍapa.*
114	*Cakuriā Leṅkā*	40	An order carrier of *Parichā.* Secures the attendence of some *sevaks.*
115	*Culian sevak*	10	
116	*Bādyakāra*	10	To beat drums and tune *kāhālī* at the time of *dhūpa* and on festivities.
117	*Dihuḍiā*	30	To hold *dihuḍi* at inner barrier at the time of *bhoga* at night.
118	*Bhitara daṇḍuāsi*	10	
119	*Dhāna-ghara pāik*	10	To watch the temple granaries.
120	*Dhāna-mapā sevak*	10	To measure paddy.
121	*Dwāra dalāi*	200	These were probably the temple force besides *Pratihāris.*
122	*Majhi Pāik*	80	The crews of *cāpa* and *Boita dalāis.*
123	*Daṇḍuā Dagara*	10	A *pāik* who inflicts punishments.
124	*Guṇḍīcā Ghara jagiā*	8	The *Guṇḍicā* housekeeper.
125	*Māliā*	20	To throw out clay from Markanda and Indradyumna tanks every year.
126	*Toṭā sevak*	300	To look after god's parks.
127	*Kaḍaḷi-bagicā sevak*	70	To look after plantain garden.
128	*Jagamohana Baiṭhā sevak*	10	To light lamps in *Nāṭamandira.*
129	*Bāhāra Bādyakāra*	10	Drummers to beat drums out of temple on festivals.

The following were the additional Nijogs organized by kings after Anaṅgabhīma Dev

130	*Kṣetra Jagiā sevak*	To do watch and ward duties in the town and to detect culprits.
131	*Dhanaghara sevak*	To remain in charge of Temple's granaries.
132	*Hātī māhunṭa sevak*	God's elephant keepers.
133	*Guātiā Bisoi*	To collect areca nuts for *biḍiā pāna* of gd.
134	*Kharaḍā-luṇa Bisoi*	To collect and stock salt for god's use.
135	*Kumbhār Bisoi*	Heads of potters to supply earthen pots.
136	*Gauḍa Bisoi*	Heads the number of cowherds in service.
137	*Bhiān Bisoi*	Godown keeper of *bhoga* articles.
138	*Bhaṇḍāra Jagiā pāik*	To guard the warehouses of costly robes and jewellery of God's.
139	*Suānsa Saraghara Mekāpa*	Keeper of implements and building materials.
140	*Roṣa / Saraghara Śudra Pāik*	To guard the *Saraghara* or godown of the kitchen.
141	*Rabāḍi Sevak Nijog*	To play *Rabā*- a musical instrument.
142	*Baṅśikāra sevak*	To tune *Baṅśi(* flute)
143	*Bhitarchu sevak*	To examine the seal before door is opened in the morning & evening.
144	*Jayamaṅgala Ārati sevak*	To make ready *Jayamaṅgalā Āratī* during evening *dhūpa*.
145	*Pānasaja Jogaṇiā sevak*	To collect and keep p*āna* (betel leaf) for *bidiā.*
146	*Bidiā Jogaṇiā sevak*	To collect all materials and help *Haḍapa nāik* to keep ready *bidiā.*
147	*Taḷachu sevak*	To seal the door when closed at day and night *pahuḍa.*

Annual salaries (*bartana*) paid to other *sevaks* in *māḍha* coins

1- Mahālaṣmī *sevak* (100) , 2 - Saraswati *sevak* (60) , 3 - Nṛsiṃha *sevak* (20) , 4 - Baḷi Nṛsiṃha *sevak* (30) , 5 - Markanḍeśwar *sevak* (20) , 6 - Jameśwar *sevak* (20) , 7 - Kapāḷamochan *sevak* (10), 8 - Baṭeśwar *sevak* (10) , 9 - Kṣetrapāḷa *sevak* (10) , 10 - Iśāneśwar *sevak* (10) , 11- Niḷakanṭheśwar *sevak* (10) , 12 - Bilweśwar *sevak* (10) , 13 - Laṅkeśwar *sevak* (20) , 14 - Bimaḷā *sevak* (20) , 15 - Baṭamaṅgaḷā *sevak* (5) , 16 - Dakṣinakāḷī *sevak* (5) , 17 - Cāmuṅdā *sevak* (5) , 18 - Marīcāi *sevak* (5) , 19 - Ardhāsani *sevak* (5) , 20 - Alāmcanḍī *sevak* (5) , 21- Sarbamangaḷā *sevak* (5) , 22 - Gunḍicapaṭi *sevak* (5) , and 23 - *sevaks* of other deities (50) .



APPENDIX - G

Description of *Bhogas* of the Temple

To the Jagannātha triad, varietes of dishes including the famous *Chapan bhogas* are offered throughout the day. It is known from the narrations of Abul Fāzl (*Āin-i-Ākbarī*, 1580A.D) that " The three images (Jagannātha triad) are washed six times every day and freshly clothed... and each time large dishes of food are brought out for the images so that twenty thousand people partake the *Prasād*."

The following is a descriptive account of *bhogas* prepared in the Temple.

List of *Chapan Bhoga* offered to the Deities:-

1. *Āriṣā,* 2. *Amālu,* 3. *Aṭakāḷi,* 4. *Adā pakhāḷa,* 5. *Baḍā* , 6. *Bhajā (Desi Āḷu, Kadaḷi),* 7.*Baḷibāmana,* 8. *Citau,* 9. *Chuñcipatra,* 10. *Cakatā,* 11. *Cakuḷi,* 12. *Ḍāḷimba,* 13. *Dhauḷā,* 14. *Enḍuri,* 15. *Gajā,* 16. *Goṭāḷi,* 17. *Gainṭhā,* 18. *Haṅsaballabha,* 19.*Jenāmaṇi,* 20. *Jagannātha Ballav,* 21. *Jhili,* 22. *Kākerā,* 23. *Khajā (pāpuḍi, cadheinedā, arakhaphuliā, menḍhasiṅghiā, kurujātaka, & parijātaka),* 24. *Korā (naḍiākora & rasakorā),* 25. *Khecedi (menḍhāmunḍiā, sāna oḷi, baḍa oḷi, ṭaṭā, & nukhurā),* 26. *Kadamba,* 27. *Kṣīri,* 28. *Kṣirisā,* 29. *Keḷi,* 30. *Khaira cuḷa* , 31. *Khurumā,* 32. *Kāṇti (baḍa & sāna),* 33. *Laḍu (magaja & marici),* 34. *Lahuṇīā,* 35. *Lakṣmīviḷās,* 36. *Manḍā (khuā),* 37. *Manohara,* 38. *Mahādei,* 39. *Mānḍua,* 40. *Mohanabhoga,* 41. *Nāḍi,* 42. *Piṭhā (suāra, kānti, sātapurī, baḍa, sāna, biri, & marici),* 43. *Pāḷua,* 44. *Pheṇi,* 45. *Paṇasuā,* 46. *Paṇā,* 47. *Pācedi,* 48. *Pāpuḍi,* 49. *Puḷi (mātha, kāñcana, & sara),* 50. *Puree,* 51. *Rasābaḷi,* 52. *Rādhāballabha,* 53.*Saraswatiā,* 54. *Tāḍiā,* 55. *Tipuri,* and 56. *Ṭākuā.*

Besides the above, the deities are also offered *sādhā anna, ghia anna, thāḷi khecedi, ḍālmā (dāl* with vegetables*), muga ḍāli, mahura, besara,śāga, rāitā, madhuruci, poṭaḷa rasā, kānikā,* and *kṣīri* etc.

The *bhogas* are prepared with rice, riceflour, wheatflour, pigeon pea, black gram, gram dal, jaggery, sugar(earlier not allowed for obvious reasons),salt, pepper, cardamom (big), cloves, turmeric, asafoetida, milk, curd, butter oil, milk solid (*khowa*), dry fruits, cheese, ginger, semolina, cocoanut, and vegetables viz., brinjal, parval, sweet potato, yam, pumpkin, banana, radish, jackfruit and tamarind etc. Oil of any kind (other than butter oil i.e., *ghee*), parboiled rice, potato, tomato, carrot, beat, turnip, cauliflower, cabbage, chilly, onion, garlic, gourd, bitter gourd and vegetables of foreign origin are strictly forbidden in the temple kitchen.

The following items in particular are offered for different *bhogas* during ordinary and special occasions.

***Ballava Bhoga* (*Gopāḷa Ballava* or *Bāḷa Bhoga*) :-**

Khai, korā, naḍiākorā, khuruḍa naḍiā pati, khuā– manḍā (milk-solid), *banana and dahi* (curd) are offered at *Aṇabasara/ Ballava Pindi* (in between *Kaḷāhāṭa dwāra* and..*bhitara kāṭha. Pahilibhoga* and *Ballava* are offered together in the month of *Dhanu.* Since during *aṇabasara,* the *daitas* have only access to the deities, *ballava* is offered in *Jagamohana.* To avoid inconvenience to the deities, morning *dhūpa* and *ballav* are offered at the same time on *Snāna purnamī* and *Doḷa purnamī.*

Sakāḷa Dhūpa :-

Thāḷi khecedi, tāṭa khecedi, nukhura khecedi, menḍhāmunḍiā khecedi, baḍa kānikā, sāna kanikā, canḍa māṭhapuḷi, māṭhapuḷi, enḍuri, kākatuā jhili, sāna kānti, biri piṭhā, puḷi, and *kaḍaḷi bhāja* etc are offered in the *Pokhariā* below the *Ratnasiṃhasana.*

Madhyāhna Dhūpa :-

. *Oriā annā, thāḷi anna, dāl, subaṣa pakhāḷa, baḍa khairacuḷa, sāna khairacuḷa, puḷi, maṭhāpuḷi, suāra manohara, kākerā, sākara, mariciladu, paṇā, gajā, ariṣā, pāga, ariṣā, keḷi, kānti, pheṇi, pārijātaka, baḍa kākerā, ṭākuā, chenā piṭhā, maricipāṇi, sāna barā, baḍa piṭhā,* and *cadheinedā* etc are offered in the *Pokhariā.*

Sandhyādḥūpa :-

Sādhā anna, ghia anna, kāñji, cupuḍā pakhāḷa, khecedi, thāḷi khecedi, kānikā, arhar dāl, ḍālmā (ḍāl with vegetables*)* , *gram ḍāl, muga ḍāl, sāga, mahura, beśara, poṭaḷa rasā, sākerā* , *rāitā, amālu, and māṭhapuḷi* etc. are offered in the *Pokhariā* .

Badasiṃhāra Dhūpa :-

Kṣiri, suāra piṭhā, miṭhā pakhāḷa, sarapuḷi, roṣa pāik, and *kaḍaḷi bhajā* are offered in the *Pokhariā* before the deities retire to bed.

Nomally, once after the *sakāḷadhūpa, bhoga* (also called *bhānḍ*) is offered in the *Bhogamanḍapa.* But when there is more demand, the numbers of *bhogas* are increased and are offered after *madhyahna dhupa* and may be after *sandhyadhūpa. Ballava, Bhogamanḍapa,* and *Baḍasiṃhāra dhūpa* are offered in *pañcopacāra.*

There is an exception in *Gunḍicā mandir* on the day before *Bahuḍā daśamī* (return car festival) in the offering of *bhoga* which is known as '*Doāḍā bhoga* '. This is because there are two sets of each *bhoga* : one for Biśwābasu and the other for Indradyumna.



APPENDIX - H

Bāḷa Dhūpa

Mahārājā Niśaṅka (Pṛuthwī) Bhānu Dev(1313A.D.), the 9th in line from the great king Anaṅgabhīma Dev of the Gaṅga dynasty of Orissa is said to have introduced *Bāḷadhūpa bhoga* in the temple to be offered in the month of Kārttik under circumstances briefly narrated below.

The king once paid a surprise visit to the temple when the deities were in *mailama* (off dress) and the concerned *Paśupāḷaka sevak* (the dresser) ironically had been to a *devadāsī*'s house. On hearing the *vīrakāhāḷī* (bugle; as usual on the occasion of such royal visit), he hurried back to the *Maṇikoṭha* with a garland of the Lord which he had given to the *devadāsī* upon reaching her place. Despite realising the fact that at that time of the day no garlands remain on Their person, he, however, played his part very briskly to conceal his misdemeanour and offered the said garland to the *Mahārājā* as *prasād*.

In his palace when the *Mahārājā* put the garland off his neck, he noticed to his dismay long hairs; and at once recalled the servitor to the royal presence to explain the situation. The *Paśupāḷaka* got puzzled; and struck with terror, he replied imprudently that gods have hairs on their heads. Upon hearing the reply, the *Mahārājā* told irritably that the day following when he revisits the Temple, the *Paśupāḷaka* should point out the hair or else he would be severely punished.

The *Paśupāḷaka* returned to the temple, prayed for a while and when his services were over, went back to his house. He resolved to commit suicide early in the next morning. He passed the night weeping and awaiting the imminent fate but simultaneously praying to gods. At the dead of the night, *Sevakapriya* Jagannātha and Baḷabhadra appeared before him and told not to fear as groves of hair were to be found hanging down from Their heads during the royal visit. Strange to say, when the *Mahārājā* visited the temple and saw what was told, he suspected foul play. After *maṅgaḷa ārati* when he pulled strands of hair to test the truth, to the surprise of all present, blood began to ooze. Seeing the supernatural manifestation, the king fell flat in prayer for a while before the deities and as an atonement of his sin thus committed, he made additional endowments for extra *bhoga* called *Bāḷadhūpa* to be offered in *ṣoḍośopacāra* after the morning *dhūpa* in the month of Kārttik every year.



APPENDIX - I

Jayadev

Jayadev, the celebrated author of the *Gītagovinda* was the son of Bhojarāja and Rādhādevī and born in Kendulī (Kendubilva) village on the bank of river Prāci (22Kms from Bhūbaneśwar). He was a contemporary of Kāmārnava Dev and Rāghavacakravarti of the *Gaṅga* dynasty. He and his wife Padmāvatī (*nartakī tiḷakaṃ*) were deeply devoted to Puruṣottama Jagannātha. From *Daśābatāra* (a glorification of *Śrī* Viṣṇu), Jayadev graduated to compose songs *par excellence* which lean heavily on alliteration, lyricism, and grace of image for its effect. In the *Gītagovinda (kāvyam)*,which begins with the description of the spring and ends with the final union of Govinda with His consort, the greatness of the Supreme Being is extolled. It narrates the mutual love of the human soul (Rādhā) as well as of Kṛṣṇa, the longings of the devoted pair, and their final entreaties and reconciliations. These songs are alternately put into the mouths of Rādhā, her *sakhis* (companions), and Kṛṣṇa.

It contains 24 songs and has 12 *sargas* (cantos) and describes in dramatic forms the attraction, separation, yearning, and final union of Bilakṣa Lakṣmīpati, Sananda Dāmodara, Snigdha Madhusūdana, Suprīta Pitāmbara, Mugdha Madhusūdana, Akḷeśa Keśava, Catura Caturbhūja, Sacinta Baikuṇṭha, Samoda Dāmodara, Mugdha Mukunda, Sākāṅkṣya Puṇḍarīkākṣya, and Nāgara Nārāyaṇa with Their beloved. It is otherwise known as *Basanta Rāsa* and each song, which has eight stanzas (*aṣṭapadī*) can be sung in several *rāgas* such as *Gurjari, Deśabarāḍi, Rāmakiri, Barāḍi, Bhairava, Karnāṭa, Basanta, Gunḍakiri,* and *Māḷava.* The poems have religious character and in the opinion of Jayadev, the inherent eroticism is simply a part of *bhakti* - the pious devotion to Kṛṣṇa. It is believed, when the poet hesitated to induct a certain phrase in one of his songs (tenth *sarga*) and left home to take bath, *Śrī* Jagannātha arrived *in cognito* and wrote '*dehi pada pallava mudāraṃ*' to complete the stanza intended to mollify Rādhā.Winternitz (1985) comments, "the poet combined so much of passion and sentiments of love, so much alliteration in language that it often resounds as pure music in our ears. It is so difficult to bring into translations the brilliance of language that translators can only reproduce its charms just partially."

Gītagovinda is sung in temples during festivities and at community worship involving masses. Even the poet himself used to sing his songs with complete devotion in the Temple. Its formal introduction into temple services was made during the reign of *Mahārājā Kavi* Narasiṃha Dev and its genesis is traced to a folklore which is thus quoted by the author.

"One day very early in the morning, a girl while plucking brinjals in her garden near Puri was simultaneously reciting some songs of the *Gītagovinda* that attracted *Śrī* Jagannātha for which He left *Ratnavedī* and followed the blessed girl. As a result, His yellow clothes tore in many places by the thorny plants. When *Pratihārī sevak* shouted '*maṇimā*' to wake up *Śrījiu* from sleep and opened the door to resume *nītis* for the day, He returned at once. When *mailama* (putting off night clothes) was being done after *maṅgaḷa ārati*, His clothes were found torn. The information was verily conveyed to the *Mahārājā* who came and beheld the wonderful yet unforeseen incident and fasted the whole day. At night the Lord appeared in a dream and told him all that had happened. As Jagannātha was so much moved with the sweet songs of the *Gītagovinda*, it was introduced into the Temple services." There is another folklore regarding king Puruṣottama Dev's attempt to introduce his '*Abhinava Gītagovinda*' in place of Jayadev's which was not appreciated by Jagannātha Himself.



APPENDIX - J*

The *Rāmānujī Vaiṣṇavas*

The *Rāmānujī* Vaiṣṇavas during the Marāṭhā rule removed from the Temple the statues of *Ādi* Śaṅkarācārya and Padmapādācārya who had in the past saved *Sanātana dharma* or the traditional Hindu religion. To demonstrate their supremacy over the followers of Śaṅkar, an attempt was made in the 1920s by the *mahant mahārāj* of Emār *maṭha* which triggered disaffection not only in the Temple but among the learned people of the locality. The following highlights the issue.

(Beginning of an unprecedented sectarian tension in the Temple of Jagannātha)

If not during Śāṅkar's time, it was later that two stone statues of Śaṅkarācārya and Padmapādācārya were installed by Hindus on the sacred *Ratnasiṃhāsana* of Lord Jagannātha to exalt their high position and to commemorate the unique event of the recovery of the shrine by Śaṅkar. The *Rāmānuji* section of *Vaiṣṇavas* at Purī removed and destroyed these statues during the Maraṭhas way over the temple in the last decade of the 18th century.

A grim fight is on between the two sects of Śaṅkaracarya and Rāmanujacarya at Jagannāthpuri over an ill conceived proposal, initiated by some influential *mahants* under the leadership of *mahanta mahārājaji* of Emār *maṭha*, to erect a temple within the inner precincts of *Śrī* Jagannātha Temple; and to install therein a statue of Rāmānujācārya – the apostle and founder of their sect. The site for the proposed temple is said to have been selected over the open plinth of the main Temple, outlying immediately to the north, adjoining to the *pādukā kuṇḍa* in forefront. *Mahanta mahārājaji* is said to have procured, long since, a document to the effect from the former *Sevāyat* Proprietor of the Temple, *Rājā* Mukund Dev; and has now approached the present *Sevāyat* Proprietor to endorse the document to enable him to carry out this premeditated scheme. The matter having been brought to the notice of the public,has now created a hot and sensational tension which,if not nipped in the bud, is sure to result in a widespread sectarian ṛancor of grave and far reaching consequences.

Without risk of any contradiction, it can be said that for nearly three centuries the powerful Buddhists had unlawfully seized this great shrine of Hindus as a triumph of their religion over Hinduism; and transformed the Temple into a Buddhist one and the presiding Deities into Buddhist Trinity. It was the great *Jagadguru* Śaṅkarācarya, the sworn enemy of Buddhist agnosticism, who at last defeated them by his dazzling arguments and philosophical wisdom. He recovered the shrine, revived the old Hindu system of worship, and added numerous rituals and *bhogas* to the pre-existing Hindu system in 67 A.D. Moreover, he and his successors had their permanent seats in the Temple to watch over its spiritual administration.

It was then that the encroaching Buddhist system was given a death blow, making way for the old Hindu system of worship and simultaneous revival of numerous feasts and festivities. Śaṅkar's *Smṛti* (to regulate the system of administration of the Temple) is yet the prevailing code and is known as *Bāmadev Saṃhitā* which superceded the former code *Sūta Saṃhitā.*

To commemorate this revival in the history of the shrine of Jagannātha and to perpetuate and revere the blessed memory of this great leader of thought and defender of *Sanātana Dharma* or the traditional religion of the land; the Hindu World had, in one voice, indeed, with a very grateful emotion, installed two statues of the Great *Jagadguru* Śaṅkaracārya and his disciple Padmapādācārya (who struggled hard with him and whom Śaṅkar announced as the first Acarya of his newly founded Gobardhan *maṭha* at Puri) over the *Ratnasiṃhāsan* (the throne of gems)of Lord Jagannātha. Ever since the recovery of the shrine, Śaṅkar and his successors in Gobardhan maṭha are being universally acknowledged and honored as the *Piṭhādhiśwaras* (spiritual preceptors) of the shrine of Lord Jagannātha and as such its spiritual administration was unquestionably vested in them.

Till the overthrow of monarchy in Orissa in the 16th century, there is no record to show if any spiritual leader of *Rāmānujī Vaiṣṇavs* had ever founded any *maṭha* at Puri. As a matter of fact, during the weak monarchy of the later semi-independent Bhoi line of kings, loose hordes of these mercenary *Vaiṣṇavas* occasionally made their appearance as pilgrims, not excluding high-souled personages. The generous kings assigned to them many pieces of Jagannātha's garden lands for their residence and endowments for their maintenance. Thus they gradually began to strike roots into the new soil and the survivors founded *maṭhas* at Puri; and by and by organized themselves as a powerful religious force. As natural haters of Śaṅkar's system,they, after establishing themselves firmly,raised indignant protests against many procedures of the Temple. But as the system had a time honoured growth of its own under the strict guidance of successive spiritual preceptors of Śaṅkar's school during the last eighteen centuries; and as the kings and the people paid very little attention to such of their obstinate protests (to introduce innovations in place of long prevailing system), all resistance failed.

At last during the Marāṭhā away over the Temple, in the last decade of the 18th century, again did they put forth their old protests; and the most conspicuous was against the upkeep of the ancient souvenir statues of Śaṅkarācārya and Padmapādācarya over the *Ratnasiṃhasan* as well as the Bhairab idol at the *Kaḷāhāta* door. The then Marāṭhā administrator of Temple (being a follower of Rāmānuja) remained all neutral; and the whole lot of *Rāmānuji* Vaiṣṇabs, under the leadership of *mahanta* of Dakṣiṇapārśwa *maṭha* who was one of the functionaries under the Marāṭhā rule, rushed into the Temple as if under a malicious fury with *lāṭhis* and spears in hand to work out their high-handed bigotry. They challenged the *sevakas,*

the *Śaṅkarapanthīs*, and others who tried to save the statues. There was no king to prevent them. Opposition got disheartened and consternation prevailed for a while in the Temple and in the town. At last they succeeded in removing the aforesaid ancient statues from their places. Revenge worked itself and the precious stone statues broken in pieces were assigned into the sea. The Bhairab idol removed from its position had, however, its good luck. Its removal was a bad augury so it was reinstated behind the *Sūrya mandira* (Sun temple) in front of the *Muktimaṇḍapa* where it still stands. The Marāṭhā regime had its might over right and in vain all protested. The *sanyāsīs* including the spiritual preceptors of the shrine and their followers being innocent and harmless teachers bore this disgrace patiently and consoled themselves. Numerous other sectarian *maṭhas* also, which were founded at Puri by this time more or less shared the same ignominy with the Śaṅkar Sect.

Now, when the statues of such great saints, renovators and revivors of old Hindu faith have met such inglorious end, their past services not withstanding; what services did *Rāmānujajī* do to the shrine that at such a distance of time after his demise, his statue is to be installed in a magnificent temple and proposed to be erected side by side with the main Temple of Lord Jagannātha? On the contrary, when he himself attempted to introduce some principles in the Temple no one gave him a sympathetic hearing; and he was turned out quite unhonoured and unsung. It is true that Vaiṣṇabs of his sect and their spiritual leaders held Rāmānujācārya as an *avatāra* (god in man). Śaṅkarācārya is also held by the whole Hindu world as an *avatāra.* And similarly numerous other sects of Hindus hold their great teachers as *avatāras* such as Nimbārka, Kabīr, Nānak, Tulsīdas, Caitanya, Rāmakṛṣṇa, Bijoykṛṣṇa and others. But none of these sectarian heads or leaders had ever as yet so aspired and asked permission to erect temples within the inner precincts of the Temple of Jagannātha and to install therein the statues of their respective apostles.

In the present case, the reason is not far to seek. Some years ago the late *Swāmī* Madhusūdan *Tirtha* of Puri Gobardhan *maṭha* had installed a statue of Śaṅkarcarya in his *maṭha* which won him a name. As the head of a rival seat, *mahant mahārajajī* of Emār *maṭha* resolved to install a statue of *Rāmanujajī* in his *Maṭha* and for which a statue had been brought and is still in his possession. As a most influential man, it struck him all on a sudden that to install the said statue in a temple in the very compound of the Temple of Jagannātha is to acquire a redoubled glory never to die. With this premeditation, he had secretly procured a document or rather a sealed document from the former *Sevāyat* Proprietor of the Temple; and was seeking for a favourable opportunity and it has at last come to him. The distinguished members of Śaṅkar sect – Madhusūdan *Tīrtha*, Sacidānanda *Saraswatī*, Mādhabānanda *Tīrtha*, Baldeo Prakaś Brahmacārī, Sadāśiv *Mahāmāhopadhyāy*, Jagannāth *Mahāmāhopādhyāy*, and many others who would have fervently opposed his ambitious scheme are all dead and gone. For the time being *mahant*

mahārājajī stands supremely influential.

Now the question is whether within the Temple precincts there are temples dedicated to the apostles of creeds who flourished in the ages of *Satya, Tretayā, Dwāpara*, and the first part of *Kaḷi*. Stark reality answers - no. Then why this ambitious design in the fertile brain of our *mahant mahārājajī* - which our forefathers dared not? Let us see the reason. The *rsis* of old to whom were revealed the sweet melodies of the Vedic hymns; and the later ones who wrote the scriptures, pronounced the truth and gave the wisdom of a whole race to the world including Manu (the great progenitor of the human race and the author of the first code of laws) were all regarded as heavenly beings born on earth. Were they less than Śaṅkar, Rāmānuja, and others of later *Kaḷi* age? Godly they were, but men and only men. Rightly did our venerable forefathers refuse to worship them as Gods, though veneration and love for them are limitless. This is what the *Ṛṣis* of yore taught them to do and on their footsteps our forefathers began to adore and invoke the *puñcadevatās* – the traditional five divinities, i.e. Nārāyaṇa, Gaṇapati, Rudra, Ambikā, and Bhāskar in their various forms.

As a matter of fact, no such idol of any individual has been installed and worshipped in the Temple of Jagannātha where variety has made itself into a homogenous whole. It represents all and while representing all, it represents none but all in equal measures; hence no scope for difference and disunion among diverse sects ever exists here. In reality, we find only idols of the aforesaid five divinities installed in their various forms in strict conformity with the practices of *devāḷayas* (the abodes of gods). So of the shrines, it is unique and excellent. Not only here, nowhere else in the shrines of the Hindus all over India has any man's idol been installed and adored as god.

Paying homage with profound love and devotion to the spiritual preceptor or to the apostle of one's creed has been the characteristic feature of people from time immemorial. It is no wonder that our esteemed *mahant mahārāj* has cherished in him the same unique trait in a far greater degree. Rāmānujācārya, a great teacher as well as a great Vaiṣṇab reformer commands unqualified homage and respect. Like Śaṅkar, his valuable commentaries on the *Vendānta* have made him immortal. Already immortal, he does not stand in need of monuments, be they of hardest rocks possible. Time crumbles them. And it would be a sacrilege on the part of his followers to circumscribe him in stone, if his ideas and his teachings do not perpetuate him.

Following the aforesaid scriptural principles of religious tolerance as taught by Puṣpadanta and Śrī Bhāgaban himself, we are not fanatics, to hate and oppose the systems and doctrines of any great spiritual teacher of the world. But what we do strenuously oppose is the unheard of and unscriptural measure, indeed awful in nature, which has hit hard our popular *mahant mahārājaji*. Really,

if he is bent on devotion to his apostle, he can erect as magnificent a temple as Jagannātha's but surely an inch less in height, somewhere else, but not inside the temple; and install his apostle's statue.

As to the selected site for the erection of the proposed temple, we would remind the young *Raj Sevāyat* that it was formerly the site of the old *Jhulaṇa maṇḍapa* where Lord's swinging festivities were celebrated. Ever since the collapse of the said old *manḍapa*, the festivities are now being held on the front side of the *Muktimanḍapa* with the permission of the President, the *Bhogabardhana piṭhādhiśwara* and the members of the *Muktimanḍapa Panḍit Sabhā*. Permission indeed is obtained for five days only after much solicitation. The idea of reconstruction of the old *Jhulaṇa manḍapa* was, however, abandoned altogether, when scholars and archaeological surveyors after visits to the temple disliked it on the ground that it would obstruct a complete view of the main Temple from the top to the toe - a view available nowhere else to produce an excellent effect on a beholder.

Such an attempt by our popular *mahant mahārājajī* is considered by all other sects as very obstinate and daring. It has already created a sectarian tension in the locality with an undercurrent which, God forbid may spread like wild fire to no limits. People are indignant and discussions after discussions are being held to protest against such an unwarranted measure. The *Rāj Sevāyat* proprietor has also been prayfully approached not to sanction such a premeditated scheme poisonous in its very birth; which while being contrary to scriptural injunctions, is not only dangerous to the existing system of the Temple, but can also cause the beginning of an unprecedented sectarian tension hitherto unknown in the history of the shrine of Jagannātha.

Attention of the local authorities as well as of the Government and the Hindu public is herewith invited for timely redress, lest it may be too late then.



APPENDIX - K

Dwādaśa Yātrās of *Śrī Jagannātha*

In the *Kāḷasāra* (Gadādhara Mohāpātra) reference is made about the twelve festivals which are observed in the Temple such as:

mancesnānaṃ ratha varagatiḥ sāyanaṃ cāyanedve/
pārsvābṛtih śaya- parihṛtih prābṛtih puṣyapūjā/
doḷakeḷirdamanaka mahoyasya puṇya tṛtīyā/
yātrāḥ skānde haripratimā yordwadaśati praṇītāḥ//"

Devotees can lend joy, zest, and variety to their otherwise pious life if they watch or participate in these festivals. A brief description of these follows:

Baiśākha (April-May)

Akṣaya Tṛtīyā - On this sacred day, construction of the chariots for *Rathyātrā* commences after the *ājñamāḷas* (permission) are received for the purpose at the *Rathakhaḷā* (the place where the chariots are constructed i.e., in front of the king's palace). Moreover, from this day the *caḷanti pratimās* such as Rāma and Kṛṣṇa (in palanquin); and Madanamohana, Śrīdevī, and Bhūdevī (in *Maṇivimāna)* reach Narendra *puṣkarinī* (tank) in a procession for the annual boating (*cāpa*) festival called *Candanayātrā*. They are followed by *Pañca Mahādevs* (also called *Panḍavs*) viz., *Śrī* Jameśwar, *Śrī* Lokanath, *Śrī* Kapaḷamocana, *Śrī* Markaṇḍeśwar, and*Śrī* Niḷakaṇṭheśwar. This *yātrā* continues for 21days till *Bhaunrī* and is known as *Bāhāra candan.* Each day, boating takes place twice: *Dina* (day) *cāpa* ia performed upon reaching the *puṣkarinī,* and *Rāti* (night) *cāpa* is performed after rituals (bath, dressing, & offer of *mānḍua* to the deities) in the *jagati* (the temple or its precincts inside the tank). The colourful boats (Barātiā, with white canopy carries Madanamohana, Śrīdevī, & Bhūdevī ; and Sunanda, with red canopy carries others) sail around the tank (once for *Dina cāpa* & thrice for *Rāti cāpa*) and the one with the white canopy leading. On *bhaunrī,* the boats swirl for 21 times near each corner.

Jyeṣtha (May-June)

Devasnāna Pūrnimā - The *caturdhā mūrties* (idols) are taken for bath to the *Snānabedī* (75ft x 75ft) and for which 108 pots of water (from an well in front of the seat of *Devī* Śītaḷā) sanctified the previous day through *Adhibāsa* at *Bhogamanḍap* are used. In the afternoon, Lord Jagannātha and Baḷabhadra are dressed like elephants. From this day, the deities are believed to be sick and remain confined in *aṇabasara.* Till *Amavāsyā* (new moon day), *darśana* of the *vigrahas* is prohibited to the public.

Āṣāḍha (June-July)

Śrī Gunḍicāyātrā or *Rathyātrā* - Celebrated on *Āṣaḍha śukḷa dwitīyā* i.e.,the

second day of the bright fortnight, the images of the gods are pulled in huge decorated chariots through *Baḍadāṇḍa* to enable those who are not allowed to enter the temple as well as other devoteess in lakhs to have *darśan* of the deities.

Hariśayanotsava - (Viṣṇu's sleep) observed on *Śukḷa ekādaśī* which is the eleventh waxing in *Āṣāḍha*

Śravaṇa (July- August)

Karkaṭa Saṃkranti - It coincides with the *Dakṣiṇāyana* of the Sun.

Bhadraba (August-September)

Pārśwā paribartana - It is celebrated on the *Śukḷa ekādaśī* or the 11th day of the bright fortnight

Kārttika (October-November)

Debotthāpana (rise of the lord) - It is celebrated on *Śukḷa ekādaśī* or 11th day of the bright fortnight

Mārgaśira (November-December)

Prabaraṇa Ṣaṣthī is celebrated on *Śukḷa ṣaṣthī*.

Pouṣa (December-January)

Debābhiṣeka or *Puṣyābhiṣeka* on *Pouṣa pūrnimā* - It is also known as *Rāmābhiṣeka.* On this day *nities* are performed as on snanayātrā. *Abakāśa* is performed on Rāma, Sītā, and Lakṣman (being represented by the holy Trinity) with the water brought in pots to the *Ratnasiṃhāsan.*

Māgha (January-February)

Saṃkrānti - It is the day of transition from one month to another. On *Makar saṃkranti* the sun enters Capricorn (Makara), when the month of *Māgha* begins. This day the deities are offered newly harvested rice called *makara cāuḷa* to which jaggery, camphor,and banana etc have been added.

Phālguna (February-March)

Doḷa yātrā - It is celebrated from the 10th of the bright fortnight to the full moon day. On *Pūrnimā,* alongwith Śrīdevī and Bhūdevī, the *caḷanti pratimā* of Jagannātha goes to *Snānavedī* outside the main temple to play *holi* and grace the specially decorated swing(*doḷa*). The sight is exhilarating and the mirth is contagious as the devotees smear *phagu* (coloured powder) on one another's face, forgetting caste, class, and gender barriers.

Cāitra (March-April)

Damanaka Caturdaśī is observed on *Śukḷa caturdaśī.* The *caḷanti pratimā* of Rāma and Kṛṣṇa are taken to Jagannātha Ballav *maṭha* for the ritual of *dayaṇā cori* from where they get the sweet smelling *dayaṇā* (*Artemisia vulgaris*) leaves

that are to be offered to them the next day.

Snānayātrā, *Rathayātrā*, and *Akṣhaya tṛtīyā* (the beginning of *candanayātrā*) attract huge pilgrims and visitors to Puri. In addition to the above festivals, more than hundred other festivals and rituals are observed in the Temple. Some of these are as follows:

Baiśākha(April-May)

Mahāviṣuva Saṃkrānti is celebrated as the sun enters the sign of Aries (*Meṣa*).	*Meṣa saṃkrānti*
Nīḷadri Mahodaya is celebrated to commemorate the installation of the deities on the *Ratna vedī*	*Śukḷa aṣtamī* (Eighth day of the bright fortnight)
Sītā navamī On this day, Sītā is believed to have risen from the furrowed soil.	*Śukḷa dasamī*
Nṛsiṃha Janma	*Śukḷa caturdaśī*
Setu Bandha	*Kṛṣṇa pratipadā*
Rāvaṇa Baddha	*Kṛṣṇa dwitīyā*
Bāhār Candanyātrā is celebrated for 21days.*Madanamohan*, the *caḷanti pratimā* of *Śrī* Jagannātha, is brought to *Keḷi Manḍapa* (in front of the temple of Goddess Vimaḷā in the Temple premises).	Consequent to *Bhitar candanyātrā*

Jyeṣṭha (May-June)

Pañca pānḍavas (Maheśwar in different incarnations) come to the Temple with their consorts and are offered*Pañcagrāsi* (*bhoga*). After this worship,they move around the town in a colourful procession.	*Śukḷa ṣaṣṭhī*
Rājendrābhiṣeka	*Śukḷa daśamī*
Madanamohana appears in front of Vimaḷā's temple; takes away Rukmiṇī (Śrīdevī) with him and marries her at *Majaṇā manḍapa.* Thus *Rukmiṇī haraṇa* is celebrated.	*Śukḷa ekādaśī*
Campaka Dwādasī	*Śukḷa dwādaśī*

Āṣaḍha (June-July)

Ritual of *Banakalāgi* (see glossary)	*Amābāsyā* (*Ubha amābāsyā*) .
After the fortnight long convalescence (*aṇabasara*), the devotees are blessed to have *Navayaubana darśana* (*netrotsava*) of the Lord.	On the 1st day (*pratipadā*) of the bright fortnight.
Herā Pañcamī (see glossary)	*Śukḷa pañcamī*
On the day of return car festival or *Bahuḍāyātrā*, another festival is celebrated i.e., Lakṣmī-Narāyaṇa *bheṭa*. When the chariot of Jagannātha reaches the king's palace, Lakṣmī comes in a palanquin to behold the Lord.	*Śukḷa daśamī*

Śrāvaṇa (July- August)

Jhulaṇayātrā- During these days, Madanamohana and Śrīdevī enjoy themselves in well- decorated swings (*jhulaṇa).*	*Śukḷa daśamī* to *pratipadā* at *Jhulaṇa manḍapa/ Muktimanḍapa.*

Bhādrab (August-September)

Janmāṣṭamī is the festival celebrating the birth of Kṛṣṇa.	Eighth (*aṣṭamī*) day of the dark fortnight
Nandotsava - King Nanda's great joy in receiving Kṛṣṇa.	*Kṛṣṇa navamī*
Saptapurī Amābāsyā	*Amābāsyā*
Ganeśa Pūjā	*Śukḷa caturthī*
Ṛṣi Pañcamī	*Śukḷa pañcamī*
Rādhāṣṭamī	*Śukḷa aṣṭamī*
Bāmana janma	*Śukḷa dwādaśī*
Ananta caturdaśī	*Śukḷa caturdaśī*
Birth of Baḷabhadra is celebrated	on *Purnamī*

Āśwīna(September- October)

Sahasra Kumbhābhiṣeka	*Kṛṣṇa saptamī or aṣṭamī*
Daśaharā	*Śukḷa daśamī*
Kumār Pūrnīmā - Worship of Mādhav and Lakṣmī	*Pūrṇimā* (Full moon day)

Kārttika (October-November)	
Jagaddhātrī (Protectress of the world) *Pujā*	*Śukḷa aṣṭamī*
Aṁḷānavamī	*Śukḷa navamī*
Śiva Caturdaśī	*Kṛṣṇa caturdaśī*
Margaśira(November-December)	
Oḍhaṇa Ṣaṣṭhī	*Śukḷa ṣaṣṭhī*
Garuḍa Dwādaśī and *Tuḷasī vivāh*	*Śukḷa dwādaśī*
Panḍu..Pūrnimā	*Pūrnimā*
Pahilibhoga	*Dhanu saṃkrānti* to *Makara saṃkrānti*
Pausa(December-January)	
Bakuḷa Amābāsyā	*Amābāsyā*
Māgha(January-February)	
Basanta pañcamī	*Śukḷa pañcamī*
Bhauma ekadasī	*Śukḷa ekadaśī*
Gaja uddharaṇa veśa	*Pūrṇimā*
Phālguna (February-March)	
Mahā Śivarātrī	*Śukḷa ekadaśī*
Agni utsava	*Śukḷa caturdaśī*
Caitra(March-April)	
Rāma navamī (birth of *Rāma)*	*Śukḷa navamī* in *Cāitra*
Sīta vibāha	*Śukḷa ekādasī*



APPENDIX - L

Important *Veśas* (decorations) of the Deities

Lord Jagannātha is known for the various custumes He wears, be it on a particular time of any day or any specific festive occasion. Each *Veśa* in unique and the rare ones draw pilgrims in lakhs to the holy shrine. The requirements include flowers, gold ornaments, and clothes of many descriptions including *taḍapa, pāṭa, Gītagovind khanḍuā* (not worn during *pahuḍa* from *Baiśakha śukḷa tṛtīya* to *Jyeṣṭha pūrnima*) etc and even accoutrements. The following is a monthwise description of *veśas* performed by *Paśupāḷakas* or *Siṃhārī sevaks* on the deities.

Baiśakha (April-May)

Bāhāra candan veśa - It continues for twentyone days from *Akṣayatṛtīyā* during which the *caḷanti pratimās* go to Narendra tank.

Jyeṣtha (May-June)

Bhitaracandan veśa - Soon after *Bāhāracandana* it begins and continues fortwentyone days when the deities go to *Jaḷakrīḍā manḍapa.*

Gaṇapati or *Gajānana veśa* - On the occasion of *Snānayātrā* (the annual bath festival), on the full moon day, Lord Baḷabhadra and Lord Jagannātha are dressed like elephants (the former in golden-white & the latter in silvery black ensembles) and resemble *Gaṇeśa* - the Elephant God. Also known as *Hāthi veśa*, it was preferred by the Lord to satisfy Gaṇapati Bhatta, who was an ardent devotee from the South.

Āṣadha (June-July)

Navayauvana veśa - This is performed the day before *Rathayātrā* and draws a large number of devotees because from *Snānayātrā*, the deities are only attended through *gupta* (secret) *sevā* in *Aṇabasara* away from public view (*darśana*).

Sunā Veśa - It also known as *Rājā veśa* and *Baḍa taḍhau veśa* which is performed on the *Āṣādha Śukḷa ekādaśī* i.e., the eleventh day of the bright fortnight while the deities are in their respective chariots near the Lions gate back from their nine-day sojourn. As the name implies, Lord Jagannātha and Lord Baḷabhadra are decorated with *śrīmukuṭa* (crown), *śrīhasta* (hands), *śrīpayara* (feet), *jhoba kanṭhi, āḍakāni, candra-sūrya, śrīcitā, śankha-cakra* (the former only) *haḷa-mūṣaḷa*(the latter only) and *rāhurekhā* etc which are made of gold. A flowery nose ornament called *nākuāsi* used by the females ever accompanies each dressing, and unless it is done the dressing remains incomplete. In *Rājā veśa*, the other ornaments that are used are *baḷā, pāhuḍa, cāpsari, ketaki, aḷakā* (tiara), *Oḍiaṇi* (a kind of girdle), *kāpa* (ornament of the ear), *taṭanka* (ear rings), *jhumpā* (ear ring with pendant), *basuṇi* (nose ring), *kankaṇa* (bracelet), *bāhuṭī, cuḍi* (bangle), *mudi* (finger ring), *nūpur* (anklet), *kinkini, kaṭi mekhaḷā* (ornament fastened on the waist), *kuṇḍaḷa*

(ear ornament), *mukuṭa* (crown), *bīra bāhuti* etc. Some of these are worn by all the deities except a few which are worn by Subhadrā only.

Bhādraba (August-September)

Baṇabhoji veśa - It is performed on the 10th day of the dark fortnight of *Bhādraba*. The deities are dressed as if going for a picnic with *gopāḷas* (cowherd boys) and *gopīs*; and models of cows and peacocks near them make the ambience attractive.

Kāḷīya daḷana veśa - *Śrī* Jagannātha is dressed like Lord Kṛṣṇa on the 11th day of the dark fortnight and holds the Kāḷiya (serpent) in His hand that looks over His head.It is a representation of *Śrīkṛṣṇa līḷā*. The *caḷanti pratimā* of *Śrī* Madanāmohana on this occasion goes to Mārkanḍa tank to observe the *nītics*.

Praḷambāśura Baddha veśa - Slaying of the demon Praḷambāśura (one of the eight wrestlers sent by King Kaṃsa to kill Śrīkṛṣṇa) by Lord Baḷabhadra is depicted in this *veśa* which is performed on the 12th day of the dark fortnight.

Kṛṣṇa -Baḷarāma veśa - Lord Jagannātha and Lord Baḷabhadra are dressed like Śrīkṛṣṇa and Śrī Baḷarāma on the 13th day of the dark fortnight. It is also called *Rāma-Baḷarāma veśa*. Beginning of the *Dwapara yuga* is commemorated.

Baḷi- Bāmana veśa - This *veśa* commemorates the fifth incarnation of Lord Viṣṇu on the 12th day of the bright fortnight. Lord Jagannath is dressed like a '*vāmana*' (dwarf) and appears smaller on the *Ratnavedī*.

Āśwīna (September-October)

Rājā Veśa - This *veśa* also done on *Daśaharā* i.e., 10th day of the bright fortnight.

Rādhā (*Rāī*) *Dāmodara veśa* - This *veśa* takes place from the *Ekādasī* i.e., the 11th day of the bright fortnight of *Āśwīna* to the 10th day of the bright fortnight of *Kārttika*. On each Monday during this period, *Śrī* Baḷabhadra wears white and black attires for His *Harihara veśa*.

***Kārttika* (October-November)**

Ṭhiākiā veśa - It is performed on the 11th day (*Ekādasī*) of the bright fortnight. It is also known as Lakṣmī- Nārāyaṇa *veśa*.

Bāṅkacuḍā veśa - It is done on the 12th day (*Dwādasi*) of the bright fortnight.

Āḍakiā (Trīvikrama) veśa - This is done on the 13th day (*Trayodaśī*) of the bright fortnight of *Kārttika*.

Dāḷikiā veśa - Also known as *Lakṣmī -Nṛsiṃha veśa*, this is performed on the 14th day (Caturdaśī) of the bright fortnight.

Rājā veśa - Also known as *Rājārājeśwar veśa* , this is performed on *Pūrnimā* i.e., the full Moon day.

Nāgārjuna veśa - The occasion arises when instead of five, six days constitute *pañcaka* during *Kārttika* and that is about 13th-14th day of the bright fortnight. The lords are dressed like warriors with impressive accoutrements.

***Mārgaśira* (November-December)**

Ghoḍalāgi veśa - It begins from the sixth day of the Bright fortnight of *Mārgaśira (Oḍhana ṣaṣthi)* and continues till the fifth day of the Bright fortnight of *Māgha i.e., Basanta Pañcamī.* The deities are draped like any other lesser mortal in winter clothings to keep them warm.

Śrāddha veśas are also done in this month on the 14th day of the dark fortnight, on the new Moon day(*amābāsyā*) , and the first day (*pratipadā*) of the bright fortnight as *Śrī* Jagannātha performs *śrāddha* (rites observed for the departed souls) for *rājā* Daśaratha,Nanda, and Bāsudev.

Pouṣa (December-January)

Rājā veśa - It is performed on the occasion of *Puṣyābhiṣeka or Devābhiṣeka* on *pūrnimā.* On this day, the first installation of the deities were made in the sanctum sanctorum and They as usual for this *veśa* are adorned with golden body parts and assorted ornaments.

Māgha (January-February)

Padma (lotus) *veśa* - This *veśa* is performed on any Saturday or Wednesday between the new Moon day and *Māgha pañcamī.* The Jagannātha triad is dressed like lotus and are offered porridge (*kṣīri,* a semi-liquid preparation of rice, milk, sugar, & condiments)and *amālu* (a deep fried pancake made of wheatflour, jaggery, & condiments).

Jāmālāgi veśa - From *Basanta pañcamī* to *Doḷa pūrnimā*, the deities wear modified *ghoḍa* (winter dress).

Gaja uddhāraṇa veśa - This *veśa* depicts how Lord Viṣṇu saved an elephant from a crocodile by hearing his prayer and this is performed on the full moon day.

Phālguna (February-March)

Cāceri veśa - It is performed from the 9th day to the 14th day of the bright fortnight.

Rājā veśa - It is performed on the *Doḷa pūrnimā* (full moon day) when *Śrī* Madanamohan goes to *Doḷavedī* alongwith Śrīdevī.

Cāitra (March-April)

Rājā veśa - is performed on the occasion of *Rāmanavamī* on the 9th day of the bright fortnight.

Although *citālāgi* on the new moon day and *Rāhurekhā lāgi* on the 5th day of bright fortnight of *Śrāvaṇa* (July-August) do not attract much gathering of devotees, the deities are dressed accordingly for the occasions.

In addition to the ones mentioned above, the following gives the description of *veśas* performed daily.

1. *Abakāśa veśa* - *Taḍapa* and *uttariya* are worn by the deities after *mangaḷa ārati.*
2. *Sādhā veśa* - After offer of food, the deities wear five times in a day silken clothes and garlands. This *veśa* comprises of normal costumes.
3. *Badasiṃhār* (*Śrīngār*) *veśa* - The deities generally wear silk clothes (e.g., *khanḍuā pāṭa*) and their heads covered with *Śrīkāpaḍa sans* any ornaments before the night *Pahuḍa.* Besides other flowers, Intricately arranged designs sweet smelling flowers adorn the deities in this *veśa* such as: *candrikā* and *jhumpā* on the head; *aḷakā, tiḷaka* on the forehead; *nākuāsi* on the nose; *dayaṇā* and *adharamāḷā* on the lips; *Karapallav* on the hands; *padaka* on the chest; *makara kunḍaḷa* at the origin of the hands, *katīpadaka* on the trunk; and *bhuja payara māḷā* extending from the hands to the legs.

   Sunā veśa otherwise known as *Rājā veśa, Baḍa taḍhau veśa,* or *Rājarājeśwar(śwarī) veśa* depending on occasions is the only ceremonial *veśa* performed five times in a year.

Tulsi leaves (*Ocimum basilicum*), flowers, sandal paste, and camphor are profusely used in the daily and periodical *veśas* in addition to the specific requirements. However, the daily *veśas* reflect the preferred colours of the deities on different days of the week such as: Sunday (red), Monday (printed white), Tuesday (multicolored), Wednesday (skyblue or green), Thursday (yellow), Friday (white), and Saturday (black).



APPENDIX - M

Chariots and their Description

The world famous *Rathayātrā* (Chariot Festival) otherwise known as *Patitapāvana yātrā, ŚrīGunḍicā yātrā, Āḍapa yātrā, Navadina yātrā* or *Ghoṣa yātrā* of Lord Jagannātha takes place on the second day of the bright fortnight of *āṣāḍha* (June-July). The *bigrahas* (images) of Jagannātha (with Madanamohana), his brother Baḷabhadra (with Rāma & Kṛṣṇa) , and his sister Subhadrā (with Sudarśan) are placed in three well decorated wooden chariots which are pulled by hundreds of devotees across *Baḍadānḍa* (grand road) for *Gunḍicā Ghar*. In the *Naiṣadha Mahākāvya'*, it is stated: "*doḷāruḍhaṃ tu govindaṃ mancasthaṃ madhusudanam / rathasthaṃ bāmanaṃ dṛṣṭwā punar janmaṃ na vidyate/ /*" The following is the description of the chariots:

	Chariot of Baḷabhadra	Chariot of Subhadrā	Chariot of Jagannātha
Name	Tāḷadhwaja	Darpadaḷana/ Padmadhwaja	Nandighoṣa/ Kapidhwaja Garuḍadhwaja
Charioteer	Mātaḷi	Arjuna	Dāruka
Nine presiding Deities	Mṛtyunjaya , Gṇeśa , Nātyambhara , Śeṣadeva , Sarbamaṅgaḷā , Haḷāyudha , Mukteśwar , Praḷambarī , & Kārtikeya	Śyamākaḷī , Vārāhī , Vimaḷā , Maṅgaḷā , Ugratāra , Cāmunḍa, Canḍī , Śuḷīdurgā , & Banadurgā	Nṛsiṃha , Rudra , Kṛṣṇa , Varāha , Gopīkṛṣṇa , Hanumāna , Tribikrama , Gobardhana , & Rāma
Guarded by	Basudeva	Jayadurgā	Garuḍa
No. of wheel	14	12	16
Height	45'	44' 6"	45' 6"
Flag	Unnani	Nādambika	Trailokyamohinī
Ropes	Vasukī	Śwarnacuḍa	Śaṅkhacuḍa
No. of wooden pieces used	763	593	832
Colour of cloth	Red & Green	Red & Black	Red & Yellow
Horses	Dīrghaśrama, Tībra Śwarnanābha, & Ghora	Jitā, Aparājitā, Mocikā, & Rocikā	Śweta, Baḷāhaka, Haridāśva, & Śaṅkha
Ṛsis on the ṛsi *paṭa*	Agastya, Pulah, Poulastya Aṅgirā, Ātreya, Kāśyapa, Mṛduḷa, & Kṛṣṇa	Bakra, Dhruba, Ulluka, Sṛngi, Supravā, & Bhṛgu	Śuka, Paraśara, Nārada Vasiṣtha, Indra, Vyāsa, Viśvamitra, & Devaḷa
Āyudha	*Haḷa & Mūṣaḷa*	*Padma & Kuhāra*	*Cakra & Śaṅkha*
Garbhādhiśwar / Garbhādhiśwarī	Nanda, Sunanda Pravā, Supravā , Tuṅga, &Tuṅgabhadrā	Jaya, Vijaya, Gyāna Sukhma, Śakti, Sapta, Ghora, & Aghora	Hīraṇyagarbha
Length X Breadth	33' X 33'	31'.6" X 31'.6"	34'. 6" x 34'.6"

Every year new chariots are constructed (except *sārathi, parśvadevatās , kaḷasa* , & horses) and the first lot of the required logs arrives on *Śrīpañcamī*. Carpenters, wood-cutters, blacksmiths, painters, tailors, artists, and other workers (including *Bhois*) put in hard labour from *Akṣaya Tṛtīyā* till the day before the *Rathayātrā* to complete the chariots.

APPENDIX - N

Important Years and Events

Years	Important Events
10th c. B.C	Foundation of the Puruṣottama - Jagannātha shrine by King Indradyumna.
226 B.C	The Jagannātha Temple seized by the Buddhists.
67 A.D	*Ādi* Śaṅkarācārya recovers the temple of Jagannātha from the Buddhists.
120	*Bāmadev Saṃhitā* compiled for the proper observance of rituals in the temple.
339	Raktabāhu's attack on Puri during the reign of *Mahārājā* Sobhan Dev.
384	Death of *Mahārājā* Sobhan Dev.
397	Death of Candrakar Dev son of Sobhan Dev.
474	Reign of King Yajāti. Keśari dynasty was visible till 1131 A.D.
485	King Yajāti installs the deities in the temple.
795	Mahāśivagupta Yajāti ascends the throne. He is said to have brought ten thousand Brāhmins from Kannauj and settled them in his kingdom.
1037	Rule of Ananta Varma V.
1070	Rule of Devendra Varma V.
1077	Anantavarman Coḍagaṅga DevIV of the Gaṅga dynasty evinces interest to construct a temple for Śrī Puruṣottama Jagannātha.
1112	Coḍagaṅga Dev adopted three juxtaposed titles viz., *Parama Maheśwara, Parama Vaiṣṇava,* and *Parama Brāhmaṇya.*
1131	Coḍagaṅga Dev constructed a temple for Śrī Jagannātha.
1137	Death of Coḍagaṅga Dev. His eldest son Anantavarman Ekajāta Kāmārnava Dev ascended the throne.
1147	Kāmār nava Dev died without any issue. His brother Anantavarman Rāghavacakravartī succeeded him.
1171	Death of Rāghavacakravartī. His brother Rājarāja II succeeded him.
1178	Anaṅgabhīma *alias* Aniyaṅkabhīma Dev II laid the foundation of the present Jagannātha temple on *Phālguna śukḷa dasāmī.*
1196	Construction of the Jagannātha temple completed.
1212	Anaṅgabhīma Dev II established *Muktimanḍap* in the Jagannātha temple . As he died without an issue, younger brother Anaṅgabhīma Dev III (b.1141) succeeded.
1216	Anaṅgabhīma Dev III in the Drakṣarāma inscription declares himself as *rāuta, adhasthana,* and *putra* of Puruṣottama, Rudra, and Durgā; and Jagannātha as his *Iṣṭadevtā* (family deity).
1239	Death of Anaṅgabhima Dev III. His son Anantavarman Narasiṃha Dev II *alias* Rājarāja Dev III *alias* Puruṣottam Dev succeeded him.
1256	Anaṅgabhīma Dev IV became the king after the death of his father Narasiṃha Dev-II.
1266	Anantavarman Narasiṃha Dev III ruled for few months but laid the foundation of the Koṇārk temple after the death of his brother Anaṅgabhīma Dev IV. Pratāp Bhānu Dev I son of Anaṅgabhīma Dev IV succeeded him and towards the end of his rule takes initiative to fill-up the Mālinī rivulet of Purī.

1278 Lāṅguḷā (Kavi) Narasiṃha Dev II succeeds his father Pratāp Bhānu Dev II. During his time, instead of six, three chariots were constructed for *Rathyātrā* and the Narendra tank was excavated. The world famous Koṇārk temple was also completed by him.

1301 Narasiṃha Dev defeated Toughan Khān of Bengal and consolidated the Hindu forces and for which Orissa was secured from Mahommedan incursion for about 250 years.

1307 Death of Narasiṃha Dev II. He is credited for giving orders for the singing of *Gītagovind* in the temple from *Sandhyādhūpa* to *Baḍasiṃhāra Veśa*. His son Kapiḷabhānu Dev *alias* Kapiḷendra Dev ascends the throne.

1313 Rule of Niśaṅka (Pṛthwī) Bhānu Dev

1328 Rule of Narasiṃha Dev III

1352 Rule of Bhānu Dev II. In his copper plate inscription (of Kujaṅga), he declares Vaiṣṇavism as his faith.

1378 Rule of Narasiṃha Dev IV.

1414 Rule of Bhānu Dev III.

1421 Rule of the last Gaṅga King (Niśaṅka) Bhānu Dev IV.

1434 *Mahārājā Gajapati* Kapiḷendra Dev founder of the Solar (Sūryavamśī) dynasty assumes power in Orissa and supplants Gaṅga dynasty.

1443 *Meghanāda prācira* (the outer compound wall) of the temple was reconstructed by Kapiḷendra Dev.

1467 *Gajapati* Kapiḷendra Dev passed away on the banks of Kriṣṇa. Throughout his life he acted as the representative of Lord Jagannātha and considered Him as the real master. Puruṣottam Dev ascended the throne after his father's death.

1470 Puruṣottam Devconstructed the *kūrmaprācira* (inner compound wall) and the *Bhogamanḍapa*.

1486 Birth of Caitanya.

1497 Death of Puruṣottam Dev. He brought a *vigraha* of Gaṇeśa (worshipped now in the Jagannātha temple) from Kānci. Hunter (1872) comments: "Three centuries of expeditions to the south have left but a single tradition worth preserving" - on his victory over Kāncipuram. King Pratāprudra Dev succeeded his father

1499 King Pratāprudra Dev ordains that *devdāsīs* and female Vaiṣṇava singers should learn and sing only the songs of Gītagovind in the services of the Temple.

1509 Ismail Gari Khān, the commander of Bengal Sultan attacks Puri. The sacred idols were concealed in *Cadhei guhā*, a hill cave on Cilikā.

1510 Śrī *Bigrahas* reinstalled in the temple. Caitanya's arrival at Puri.

1518 Sikh Guru Nānak and Caitanya met at Puri and discussed various issues including casteism.

1533 Death of Caitanya at Puri (9th July).

1540 Death of King Pratāprudra Dev.

1557 Mukund Dev (Haricandana) ascends the throne (the last independent Hindu king of Orissa).

1562 *Naṭāmandira* reconstructed by Mukund Dev.

1564 Kaḷāpāhāra, the general of Bengal Sultān Suleimān Kararānī (in succession to the Surīs) destroyed the Kāmakṣyā temple in Assam. According to *Ākbar nāmā*, Kaḷāpāhāra was a Muslim of Afghan origin. But most believe that he was a Hindu renegade.

1568 Mukund Dev is killed and Orissa passed into the hands of the Afghān power of Bengal. Kaḷāpāhāra damaged, plundered, and desecrated Jagannātha Temple. The Koṇārk temple was also not spared by him. Orissa remained under the subjugation of Afghans till the Moghul conquest in 1592.

1570 Conflict between the Moghuls and the Afghans for supremacy over Orissa.

1574 Orissa submits to Ākbar's armies under his Hindu general, Todar Mall.

1580 Rāmacandra Dev I of the Bhoi dynasty carves out a small kingdom (capital- Khurdā).

1586 *Muktimanḍapa* reconstructed by *Raṇī* Goura Devī, a Rājput princess and the queen of *Rājā* Mānsingh.

1587 With the *nābhibrahma* retrieved by Bisar Mohānti, Rāmacandra Dev I performs the *nabakaḷevara* of the Jagannatha triad at Khurda for which he is addressed as *Abhinava* Indradyumna. Although existed at all times, this ritual believed to be celebrated at regular intervals of 12 (or 19) years with minor deviations began from this year.

1589 Deities reinstalled at the Puri Temple.

1590 Difficulties of *Rājā* Rāmacandra Dev I eases because of arrangements between the Afghans and the Moghuls under the supervision of *Rājā* Mānsingh, the general of Ākbar. Puri declared as the crown land of the Moghul empire (15th August).

1591 *Dadhinauti* and *Nīḷacakra* uprooted by Kaḷāpāhāra were reconstructed and placed at their respective positions.

1592 Orissa annexed by Ākbar and it remained under the Moghuls till Marāṭhā supremacy (1751).

1600 King Puruṣottam Dev ascends the throne.

1605 Death of Ākbar. Before the plunder of the Temple by the Moghul Subedar Mirzā Khurrum, the Idols were concealed in the temple of Pañcamukhī Devī at Kapiḷeśwarpur (12kms from Puri).

1607 Jagannātha shifted to Kapiḷeśwarpur to escape defilement by Makāram Khān. Jāhāngir decided to put Orissa under an independent *Subāhdār*.

1608 Keśu Dās Māru, a Rājput Subedar in Moghul army under the Governor Hāsim (Hāsān) Khān entrenched himself in the Temple and sets the chariots ablaze. So thorough was the plunder and devastation that *Mahāprabhu* went without cooked food for a long time.

1610 Before the attack of Hāsim Khān on the Temple, the idols were carried away to the temple of Gopāljee in Khurdā.

1612 The deities returned to the *Śrīmandira*. Kalyān Mall son of Toḍar Mall attacked the temple and deities were hurriedly shifted to Mainsiālasi (inside Cilikā) and subsequently to Gollāi Fort.

1618 Moghul General Makārām (Mukrām) Khān attacks Khurdā and Puri (including the temple). Puruṣottam Dev unable to withstand, hides himself in Garh Māṇitri. The *bigrahas*, before the onslaught, were first taken to Golbāi and thence to Gabapaḍā on the border of Bāṇapur.

1619 Makārām Khān withdraws and the deities return to the Temple.

1621 Before the attack of the Temple by Subedar Mirzā Ahmed Beg (*alias* Lāl Beg and father of *Bhakta* Sālabeg), deities were shifted to Mānatri.

1622 *Mahārājā* Puruṣottam Dev passes away in Garh Māṇatri and Śrī Narasiṃha Dev becomes the King.

1623 Narasiṃha Dev meets Shāhjāhān while he was passing through Orissa. A Rajput officer of the Moghul camp assisted in the installation of the deities in the Temple. He is believed to have introduced the system of *tañki bāheli* (light rent tenures) in *Brahmaṇa sasans.*

1624 Subedar Mirza Ahmed Beg attacked the temple; deities were again shifted to Māṇatri.

1625 Deities brought back and reinstalled on the *Ratnasiṃhasan.*

1630 Apprehending desecration and dishonour of the *vigrahas* by the Moghul army of Shāhjāhān, they were carried away to Khurdā.

1636 *Vasanta Guṇḍicā Yātrā* introduced in the temple.

1637 To protect the Temple from salinity, it was plastered with thick mortar by King Narasiṃha Dev.

1642 Narasiṃha Dev ordered for a compilation of the *nities* of the temple. It eventually mentioned the share of the *rājā* in the offerings.

1647 Narasiṃha Dev was beheaded by Fateh Khān in his palace. During his time and probably under the influence of the Vaisnavites, animal sacrifices before Goddess Vimaḷā were discontinued and *prasād* of Jagannātha only after its subsequent offering to Vimaḷā became *mahāprasād.* Pre-emptive measures were taken by the *paṇḍās* in carrying away the idols to Pārikud on the Cilikā.

1648 Subedar Matbek Khān attacks the temple during the reign of *Rājā* Baḷabhadra Dev.

1657 Death of Baḷabhadra Dev, his son Mukunda Dev I becomes the king of Khurda.

1663 During his sojourn,William Brutton(a British trader) observed "... nine thousand Brahmins or priests daily offer sacrifices unto this great god Juggernaut... and when he is but named, all the people in the town and country bow and bend their knees to the ground."

1669 Despite the imperial order issued on 9th April (of Aurangzeb) to demolish all the schools and temples of the infidels, no desecration of the Jagannātha temple took place which was believed to have been averted by by gaining over the marauders. The idol of Śrīnāthjī was taken to Nāthadwārā (near Udaipur) from Mathurā to protect Him from sacrilege. Temples of Vārānasī were not lucky including the temple of Viśwanāth.

1670 The great KeśavaDev temple(Mathurā) that was hardly fifty years old and built at a cost of Rs 33 lakh was destroyed on the orders of Aurangzeb.

1671 The *bhoga* system in the Jagannātha temple was in total disarray due to severe famine and the avarice of Aurangzeb's tax gatherers for more revenue from Orissa.

1688 Dibyasiṃha Dev-I ascends the throne.

1692 On the explicit instruction of Aurangzeb, his Naib-Subedar Ekrām Khān attacks the temple during the reign of King Dibyasiṃha Dev-I.

1694 The *Nīḷacakra* was blown off by a heavy cyclonic storm.

1697 Ekrām Khān, his brother Marmasta Khān Jamāullā, and one Emān Coobi along with cavalry soldiers invaded Puri. Apprehending the worst, the sacred essence of the deities was concealed behind the temple of Vimalā. The invaders destroyed the *bigrahas sans* the *brahma,* emptied the treasury, and took away the discus of the *Bhogamanḍapa* as a matter of pride. This attack was made at the behest of Aurangzeb. Although *nīties* continued on a reduced scale, the temple was nearly officially closed till the death of Aurangzeb.

1698 The *vigrahas* were reinstated on the *ratnavedī.* This time around, *Nīḷadri Mahotsava,* a poetic composition on the festivals of Śrī Jagannātha was composed.

1700 Earliest known donation of land by a private person for the *amṛtamaṇohi bhoga* of Śrī Jagannātha (available in the Orissa State Archive).

1703 A newly built *nīḷacakra* was securely placed on the Temple.

1707 Aurangzeb died and the pilgrims trickled into Puri to have *darśan* of the deities.

1714 *Navakaḷevar* of the deities.

1716 *Rājā* Dibyasiṃha Dev passed away. Festivals as well as maintenance of the temple (e.g., plastering) ably supervised by his younger brother Harekṛṣṇa Dev.

1720 *Rājā* Gopīnāth Dev succeeds his father *Rājā* Harekṛṣṇa Dev.

1727 Rāmacandra Dev II, younger brother of Gopīnāth Dev becomes the *Rājā* of Khurdā.Apprehending attack by Taki Khān (Naib Nizam of Cuttack), the deities were carried first to Baṇapur and then to Tikāli (near Khallikote, Ganjam) on royal instruction and brought back to the temple.

1728 *Nāṭamandira* of the Gundicā temple built.

1729 Lime plastering done on the temple to protect it from natural elements.

1730 *Rājā* Rāmacandra Dev II converted to Islam while being imprisoned by Subedar Taki Khān in Cuttack for nearly fifteen months.

1731 To enable *Rājā* Rāmacandra Dev II to have the *darśana* of the Lord, *Śrī* Patitapābana "the Purifier of the Fallen-ones" was set up in the *gumuṭa* at the Lions gate. The painted face of Jagannātha alone is visible from outside the temple and *patitas* get a scope to purify them. *Mādaḷāpāñji* alludes to his conversion in the *Rājabhoga* section but elsewhere states that he was allowed to perform *Gajapati Maharājā Sevā.*

1732 *Rājā* Rāmacandra Dev II prevails over the *paṇḍas* to follow him with the *vigrahas* after the chariot festival to a hill across the Cilikā to prevent Taki Khān's sinister design to control the cult. In consequence of the removal of the idols, there was a falling- off to the tune of Rs Nine lakh in the Imperial revenue accruing from the pilgrims (History of Bengal, vol.II, p.428). Taki Khān declared Prince Bīrakiśore Dev I as the new *Rājā* of Khurdā to plant the son against the father.

1733 When *navakaḷevara* of the deities was about to be performed, Rāmacandra II returned with the carried-away *bigrahas* which contained the *brahma* to lend purity to the ritual. Taki Khān (Naib Nizām of Cuttack) attacks Puri temple. *Bigrahas* were carried away across Cilikā and kept at the Mardā temple at Āthagarh (Ganjam).

1736 Padmanābha Dev of Patiā declared *Rājā* by Bengal Governor Mursid Quli Khan II. The *bigrahas* were brought back and consecrated on the *ratnabedī.* Rāmacandra Dev II passes away.

1739 Śri Bīrakiśore Dev I reinstalled on his ancestral throne in Khurdā for his alleged willingness to pay the pilgrim tax and the debt of his precursor .

1751 Orissa ceded to the Marāṭhās because of the treaty between Ālīvardī Khān, Nawab of Bengal and Raghuji Bhonslā of Nāgpur. Thus the Moghul/ Muslim rule came to an end in Orissa. Marāṭhā administrator Śeo Bhatt Sāthe curtailed the role of the *Rājā* in the affairs of the temple. During Marāṭhā rule, a *dustack* (passport) was required beforehand to travel on pilgrimage in their territories and pilgrim tax was charged on arrival but not on *kāṅgāḷs* (paupers).

1764 Bhawānī Paṇḍit takes over as the Marāṭhā administrator.

1765 By the treaty of Allahabad, the East India Company took over '*Diwānī*' of Bengal, Bihar, and Orissa and thus began the virtual British rule In India.

1768 Sambhājī Gaṇeśa takes over as the Marāṭhā administrator of Orissa.

1771 *Navakaḷevar* of the deities.

1773 Mādhaji Hari takes over as the Marāṭhā administrator of Orissa.

1778 Rājārām Paṇḍit takes over as the Marāṭhā administrator of Orissa.

1790 *Navakaḷevar* of the deities.

1793 Bīrakiśore Dev I passes away and his son Dibyasiṃha Dev becomes the *Rājā*. Sadāśiva Rao takes over as the Marāṭhā administrator of Orissa. *Jhulaṇa* festival celebrated for the first in the temple.

1798 Mukunda Dev II becomes the *Rājā* of Khurdā upon the demise of Bīrakiśore Dev.

1800 *Aruṇastambha* brought by the Marāṭhās from Koṇārk and erected in front of the Jagannātha temple.

1803 Col Harcourt took possession of Puri (18th September). The East India Company abolished the then prevailing Pilgrim tax but followed the system of the Marāṭhās to manage the Temple. The Marāṭhā rule withers in Orissa.

1804 *Rājā* Mukunda Dev II dethroned and escorted to Cuttack as a state prisoner for alleged crimes. James Hunter the acting Collector was directed to organize the Jagannātha temple service. *Rathayātrā* was held under British supervision.

1805 Mr Charles Groeme, the Collector of the Southern Division at Puri was directed in March to submit a report on the customs and establishments of the Jagannātha temple. Vide resolution No.XII/dt. 5.9.1805, Office of Collector of Tax on Pilgrims at Jagannātha came up under the headship of James Hunter. Collection of revenue for the land of the temple and the *Maṭhas* resumed.

1806 Pilgrim Tax reimposed to meet the expenses incurred for the maintenance of the Temple. A committee of three *Puṇḍits* was formed to oversee the rituals as per the Regulation IV of 1806 of the Government.

1807 *Rājā* Mukunda Dev II was set free and permitted to reside at Puri. Mr George Webb, Collector of Cuttack put in charge of the Temple.

1808 The Board of Revenue forwarded the letter of Mr Webb to the Governor General wherein he recommended, "... the affairs of the temple should be entrusted as soon as possible to the *Rājā* of Khoordah." Commissioner Charles Buller had separately moved the authorities, "... for vesting Raja of Khoordah with superintendence of the ceremonies and affairs of the temple but not with an uncontrolled power on all officers."

1809 *Rājā* Mukunda Dev II becomes the Superintendent u/s II (i) of Regulation IV passed by the Goveror General in Council. *Navakaḷevar* of the deities.

1813 Member, Board of Revenue on deputation to Cuttack (Mr Richardson) writes to the Governor General about *Rājā*'s contemptuous and disrespectful treatment to certain feudatory chiefs of Orissa while they were on visit to Jagannātha temple.

1814 Mr Richardson informs the Government (5^{th} February) that through the power and influence of Jaggernauth, the *Rājā* believes to restore his supreme command and authority in the province once his ancestors exercised; and his activities are inimical to British administration. Mr Richardson, in another

communication, emphasised for the abolition of pilgrim tax since it appeared as "a state sanction to idolatry". The Government rejected his proposal for removal of the *Rājā* from the Superintendentship of the Temple and reiterated its stand to support the natives in their ecclesiastical pursuits and advised the officer to avoid matters of this nature.

1817 Buxi (general) Jagabandhu proceeded to Puri alongwith several thousand *pāiks* and were greeted by the Temple priests (who fervently desired the restoration of full control of the *Rājā* and the fall of the British rule). *Rājā* Mukunda Dev II , for his alleged complicity in *pāik* rebellion, was arrested alongwith his son Rāmacandra Dev III and died in Barabati fort. The special commissioner for Inquiry (W. Ewer) observed in his report that "not a particle of evidence is attainable" to the effect that the *Rājā* ever favoured the rising. But the *Mādaḷāpāñji* alludes to the father-son duo in inciting the *pāiks* to loot the English treasury at Puri. Rāmacandra Dev allowed to return to Puri (16th October).

1818 *Pinḍāri* bandits of Central provinces harassing pilgrims and traders were wiped out by British forces.

1828 *Navakaḷevar* of the deities.

1832 *Sudder* Board of Revenue recommends for the abolition of Pilgrim Tax but it was turned down .

1836 *Navakaḷevar* of the deities.

1838 Governor General Auckland expressed the desire for the abolition of Pilgrim Tax not only at Puri but also at Allahabad and Gaya. Missionary Rev. Leshey brought a hand- operated printing machine to Orissa.

1840 As per Act X of 1840, Pilgrim Tax was abolished at Puri (3rd May) fetching then Rs Nine lakh per annum. And the superintendence of the "temple of Juggernaut and its interior economy, the conduct and management of its affairs, and the control over the priests, officers, and servants attached to the Temple" were vested in the *Rājā* (of Khoordah) for the time being. Thus, Rāmacandra Dev III exercised full and absolute authority on the administration of the temple and its properties.

1843 *Satais Hazari Mahal* handed over by the British to the *Rājā* for the maintenance of the temple (2nd November) and the Government grant was proportionately reduced.

1853 *Navakaḷevar* of the deities. Rāmacandra Dev III passes away and succeeded by his son Bīrakiśore Dev II.

1856 Police engaged in the temple.

1858 *Ekharājāt Māhāl* transferred to the *Rājā* for the maintenance of the temple.

1859 *Rājā* Bīrakiśore Dev II dies. Sūryamaṇi Paṭṭamahādei widow of the *Rājā* managed the temple since their adopted son Dibyasiṃha Dev was a minor.

1863 The last financial links between the Temple and the British Government were severed because various estates were transferred to the *Rājā* in lieu of the annual grants.

1865 Famine in Orissa; as per official records, it claimed one-fourth of the population of the region.

1866 '*Utkala Dipikā* ', a sociocultural journal published for the first time, highlighted the agonies and plight of the famine victims.

1871 Jagannātha Temple struck by lightening.

1875 A big stone fell into the sanctum sanctorum from the upper portion of the temple.

1878 Dibyasiṃha Dev is charged with culpable homicide and sentenced to deportation for life. Since his son Mukund Dev III was a minor, *Raṇī* Sūryamaṇi takes over the management of the Temple. Against the usual period of two months, the three cars were ready for the annual *Yātrā* (7.7.1878)within a week; and to prevent unwarranted rush of pilgrims towards the moving cars, protective outer cordons were thrown around them for the first time through the deployment of additional police personnel.

1881 Puri Municipality formed comprising of 13 residential areas (*sāhis*) as per the Municipal Act of Bengal. Followers of the *Mahimā Dharma*, an autochthonous Hindu reform movement, clashed with the police while trying to enter the Temple with malafide intentions.

1882 The priests and Brahmins petitioned (8.7.1882) to the British Government against a proposal to take over the administration of the Temple and mentioned therein that " though there are many wealthier *Rājās* in Hindoostan none of them is held by the Hindoos with equal veneration" and hence the rights of the *Mahārājā* of Pooree should not be interfered with.

1887 In the Jagannātha Temple case, the Statesman reported on the *Rājā* of Puri that he is "... the incarnation of the great mahadeo Juggernath himself "(2.4.1887).

1893 Although two lunar *Āṣāḍha* months conjoined, the idols of Jagannātha *et al* were not changed. The clothes on the upper portion of the deities were only changed which may be called partial *navakaḷevar*. Moreover, *navayauban darsan* was not permitted owing to a massive gathering of devotees.

1897 Mukund Dev III attains majority and takes over the charge of the temple as Superintendent. Puri connected by railways on 1st February.

1901 More than twenty devotees died in the sanctum sanctorum (*pokhariā*) due to pandemonium on *Mahāṣṭamī* (2nd October).

1902 In pursuance of Resolution No.5109/dated 5.12.1902 of the Government, the *Rājā* executed an agreement to accept a Manager for the Temple.

1903 Rāj Kishore Dās appointed as the first manager of the temple. 'Utkaḷa Sammiḷanī ' - a socio-political organisation was formed in the state.

1905 *Raghunātha veśa* of the deities. Sambalpur and princely states of Pāṭnāgarh, Kaḷāhāṇḍi, Bāmaṇḍā, Sonepur, Rairākhol ceded to Orissa from the Central Province.

1911 Orissa, Bihar, and Chota Nagpur formed into a Province under a Lt.Governor.

1912 *Navakaḷevar* of the deities. *Navayauban darśan* not permitted due to massive gathering of devotees.

1920 Bihar and Orissa Pilgrims Act was passed that facilitated the constitution of the Lodging House Fund for the benefit of pilgrims visiting Puri.

1923 Puri Municipality run by the Bihar and Orissa Municipal Act.

1925 Śaṅkarācārya Madhusūdan Tīrtha of *Govardhan Pīṭha*, Puri passes away.

1926 Mukund Dev III dies ; his adopted son *Rājā* Rāmacandra Dev IV becomes the Superintendent of the Temple.

1931 *Navakaḷevar* of the deities. *Navayauvan darśan* not permitted due to massive influx of devotees.



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GLOSSARY

Ācārya	- A spiritual master or guru.
Adharapaṇā	- This ritual is performed on the *Āṣādha śukḷa dwādaśī* when the Jagannātha triad is still on the chariots. On each car, in terracotta pots (*hāṇḍis*) which are high enough to reach the *adhara* (lips) of the deities, *paṇā* (a mixture of milk, cream, cheese, *nabāta* / sugar, banana, camphor, nutmeg, & blackpepper etc) is offered and the quantity is nearly 100 ltrs. Soon these pots are broken to propitiate the *caṇḍies*, *cāmaṇḍas*, and other invisibles residing in the chariots. This is never consumed by any other devotee.
Advaita	- Non-dual; monotheism. It asserts 'oneness' in all i.e., '*ātman*'. The whole of existence or no existence is perceived as '*ātman*' or '*brahman*'. The '*Dvaita*' school of philosophy, on the other hand, emphasises 'duality' as reality such as the difference between two individuals.
Ahimsa	- Non- violence.
Ālaṭa	- Large hand fan covered with colourful cloths and *zari* works.
Āmaḷakaśiḷa (*aḷaśirā*)	- The massive dented circular block of headstone in the form of an oblate spheroid on which rests the *pāga* (*pagree*) stone. These stones support the *dadhinauti* (finial).
Amṛta-maṇohi	- Property endowed for offering of *bhoga* to *Śrī* Jagannātha out of its earnings.
Aṇabasara	- After the sacred bath on *Devasnāna Pūrnimā*, the Jagannātha triad is believed to be sick and remain confined to the *Aṇabasara/ Ballabha piṇḍi* (the elevated floor between *Kaḷāhāṭa* door and the inner wooden barrier) till the new moon day (*Amāvāsyā*). Only the *daitās* have access to the deities during this period to perform *guptasevā* ; and *darśana* of the *vigrahas* (idols) is prohibited to others. What the devotees behold during this fortnight, in lieu of Baḷabhadra, Subhadrā, and Jagannātha are the images of *Śrī* Vāsudeva, *Devī* Bhūbaneśwarī, and *Śrī* Nārāyaṇa respectively painted on the *aṇabasara pati* (see plates). *Caḷanti pratimās* of Nṛsiṃha, Doḷagovinda, and Rāma (in front of *Śrī* Vāsudeva) ; Bhūdevī and Śrīdevī (in front of *Devī* Bhūbaneśwarī) ; and Madanamohana and Kṛṣṇa (in front of *Śrī* Nārāyaṇa) alongwith the three paintings are worshipped as *Dasābatāra ṭhākura* in the *Mohana/ Mukhaśālā*. Before these *patis* are taken away (*bāhuḍa vijay*) by *Koṭha suānsiās* (servitors) upon the conclusion of *Aṇabasara* , the '*Mukhasiṃhārī*' (face-painter) do the annual painting on the *dārumūrties*. To earn religious merit, devotees during this time visit the temple Lord Alāranāth at Brahmagiri (20 kms from Puri) which was once frequented by Śrī Caitanya.
Ānanda	- Transcendental bliss.
Anartha pāga	- It is the pilaster of a temple next to the corner one (*Koṇaka pāga*).
Anjaḷi -mudrā	- This is a gesture of reverence. The forearms rest against the chest while the palms touch each other.

Annachatra	- Free meals provided to the poor and needy.
Annals	-Records of events under the years in which they happened; any historical work that follows the order of time in its narrations, separating them off into single years.
Antiquarian	- Connected with the study of antiquities; also the one devoted to its study.
Antiquity	- Ancient times; manners, customs, and relics of ancient times.
Apauruṣeya	- Not made by man (that is, revealed by god)
Arabesque	- Arabic designs e.g., consisting of parts of plants beautifully intertwined.
Arcanā	- The process of deity worship or engaging all the senses in the services of the Lord.
Architrave	- The beam or the lowest division of entablature which extends from column to column.
Aruṇa	- The Sun- God. It is also the name of His charioteer who was the son of Kāśyapa by Vinatā. He was the elder brother of Garuḍa and generally represented as thighless. He is atop the *stambha* (pillar) in front of the Jagannātha Temple and wrongly perceived as a monkey.
Ātmā	- The universal soul, the spirit.
Avatārā	- An incarnation of the Lord who descends from the spiritual domain to the material world with a particular mission as described in scriptures.
Bāḍa	- The cubical portion of a temple up to the pyramidal or curvilinear spire.
Baḷarāma	- In paintings, He is shown to be having fair skin in contrast to Subhadrā's yellow and Kṛṣṇa's blue complexion. The *Brahma Purāṇa* identifies Haḷāyudha (Baḷarāma) as one of the incarnations of Rudra. At the time of consecrating the *dāru* (the hallowed wood) intended for His image during *navakaḷevara*, water of the *sahasrakumbha* is poured on it amidst the chanting of the *Rudradhyāya* or the *Nīḷasūkta*. On particular occasions, He is depicted as holding a plough and a pestle with a snake canopy above his head.
Banaka lāgi	- This ritual relates to the painting made on the *Śrīmuhkas* (faces) of the Jagannātha triad usually on each Wednesday and on the *Ubhā amābāsyā* of *Āṣaḍha* (June-July) i.e., the day before *netrotsava*. The preparation of the pigments is time consuming. The soot of a stone *dīpa* (wick of the lamp is made of new cloth), which is lighted by only married women in the north-eastern corner (*Aiśānya koṇa*) of a room of a Dutta Mahāpātra household is collected from inside an upturned *tāḍa* (earthen bowl) enclosing it. The collected soot is the basis of the collyrium of black. White comes from the manual grinding of seashells. Sulphur is the main ingredient of the pigment of yellow. These are then independently mixed with camphor, musk, saffron, and the gum of *Kaintha*(*Limonia acidissima*) to get the final substances required primarily for Lord Jagannātha,Lord Baḷabhadra, and Devī Subhadrā in that order.
Bas-relief	- Carving of low projection.

Bāṭi	- One *bāṭi* is equivalent to five acres of land.
Battlement	- Parapet or wall with embrasures.
Bhāga	- Share e.g., from out of the prodce of agricultural lands.
Bhāgavad-gītā	- It constitutes the substratum of Hindu theism and forms the part of Book - VI of the Mahābhārata. Written in the form of a dialogue between the warrior prince Arjuna and his friend and charioteer ŚrīKṛṣṇa, it consists of 700 Sanskrit verses spread in 18 chapters.
Bhakta	- A devotee or one who practices devotion (*bhakti*).
Bharaṇa	- A unit of measurement of amount still in use in rural areas that is equal to eighty *gouṇis* (1 *gouṇi* = 3½ seers = 4.3 kgs @ 1.23 kgs per *seer*).
Bhāva	- Emotional experience.
Biśis	- A group of several villages.
Biśwā	- Equal to 1/16 of a *gunṭha*; 1/400 of an acre.
Brahma	- The universal Soul or the Absolute that dwells in everything and guides all beings. *Brahma* or the Absolute is beyond *guṇas* or qualities. It cannot be stated as existent or non-existent. It is the source from which everything originates, the level on which everything manifests, and the goal to which everything returns. *Taittereya Upaniṣad* espouses '*satyaṃ jñānaṃ anantaṃ brahma*' i.e., *brahma* is unchanging (*satya*), it is knowledge (*jñāna*), and it is one having no beginning and end (*ananta*).
Brahmā	- The first created living being. He alongwith Viṣṇu and Maheśvara form the Hindu trinity and control the three modes of material nature such as passion, goodness, and ignorance respectively.
Brahmacārī	- Celibate student who practises self-restraint and studies scriptures under the care of a spiritual master.
Brahma-jijñāsā	- Spiritual inquiry into one's own identity.
Brahma-samhitā	- A very ancient Sanskrit text recovered by Caitanya from a south Indian temple containing prayers of Brahmā to Govinda.
Buddhist Trinity	- During the occupation of the Temple, the Buddhists treated *Śrī* Jagannatha, *Śrī* Baḷabhadra, and *Devī* Subhadra as their *triratna* such as *Buddha, Dharma,* and *Sangha* respectively. *Rājā* Indrabhūti of Uddīyāna *Pīṭha* wrote: "*namaskṛtya jagannāthaṃ sarvajina-varārcitaṃ/ sarva- buddhamayaṃ siddhi vyāpino gaganopamaṃ//* 1.1" (*Jñanasiddhi*).
Caitanya (1485 -1533 A.D.)	- Implicit belief and incessant devotion in Hari were the watchwords of Caitanya who was opposed to priestly ritualism. He believed that through love, devotion, song and dance, a state of ecstasy could be produced in which the per sonal presence of god would be realized. While being accessible to all, irrespective of marital status, caste, and creed, he made lasting impression upon the people to accept ŚrīKṛṣṇa and Jagannātha as one. Hunter (1872) was pragmatic in his observation that, "Caitanya was the

apostle of the common people in Orissa and remembered as the great teacher of the proletarian faith". Interestingly, Kennedy (1925) has documented, "Gouranga is more commonly revered and worshipped among the masses of Orissa than in Bengal itself ". Kṛṣṇadās Kavirāj has described Caitanya's teachings and pastimes in his "*Caitanya-Caritāmṛta*".

Cakra - The crowning discus on the top of *Śrī* Jagannātha temple is called *nīlacakra*. Without the *Patitapāvana bānā* (flag) on the *cakra*, no food offering can be made in the temple. If a person fails to offer *bhoga* to the holy triad, *cakra maṇohi* or offer of *naivedya* to the *nīlacakra* can be made and this is as good as *mahāprasāda*. In the *Vāmana Purāṇa* ("*om sudarśana mahājwaḷa koti sūrya samaprava/ ajñāna - timirāndhasya nāśano mokṣa dāyakah*") and in the *Brahma Purāṇa* ("*cakraṃ dṛṣṭwā harerdūrāt prāsādopari sansitham / sahasā mucyate pāpānnaro bhaktyā praṇamy tat//*") , its importance has been highlighted. The *cunarā sevakas* take care of it alongwith *Garuḍa* and *Aruṇa stambhas* (pillars). On every *Ekādasī*, at the time of *sańdhyā dhūpa*, *mahādīpa* is lighted below the *nīlacakra* for the welfare of the king and his subjects.

Cāmara - - It is a kind of flywhisk made of the long tail hairs (may be black or white) of a yak and usually with a decorative handle of silver or gold. It is gently waved at the time of worship in temples.

Cāramāla - The removable ramp made of palm tree trunks, planks, and coir ropes to ascend the chariots with ease.

Caturdhā - The four - fold divine wooden images of Jagannātha, Baḷabhadra, Subhadrā, and Sudar sana, Who are believed to represent *Yaju, Sām, Ṛg, and Atharva Vedas* respectively.

Caudoḷa - A wooden carrier with two long shafts on the sides (extending both to the front and rear) to accommodate equal number of persons to carry deities.

Cherā pahanrā - Before the pulling of the chariots, the king of Purī comes in a *mehenā* (palanquin) to do this ritual. He offers garlands, performs *ārati*, fans the deities with a *cāmara*, pays his obeisance, and sweeps the platform around the *siṃhāsana* of the chariots (of Baḷabhadra, Jagannātha, & Subhadrā - in that order) with a broom (samārjanī) having a clip of gold. Servitors like *Mekāpa* (with the *cāmara*, camphor, & golden lamp), *Ghaṭuārī* (with white flowers, *dayaṇā* leaves, garlands, & sandal paste), *Mudulī* (with the broom & *pingaṇa* - the silver bowl), and *Garābaḍu* (with the water jug) attend to the king during this service.

Corbel - Projection from the wall for supporting weight.

Corbelled arch - Arch formed by progressively larger corbels.

Cornice - Overhanging or moulded ridge along the roof or over the frieze etc.

Cowry (Cowrie) - Sea shells used as medium of exchange in the past. Although the Moghuls had a mint at Cuttack, the cowries were still in circulation in Orissa as observed by Thomas Bowery. The rate of exchange varied between 2500 -

3200 per rupee depending upon supply. Records allude to its import from the present Maldives. (Oriya -*Kauḍi*)

Cubit	- A measure equal to the length of the arm from the elbow to the tip of the middle-finger (appox. 18 to 22 inches).
Dadhinauti	- Also called *kaḷasa* (pitcher / jug) , it is the topmost part of a temple (finial) on which the *cakra* (discus) rests if it is a Viṣṇu temple or adorned with a *triśūl* (trident) if it is a temple of Śiva.
Ḍālua	- A kind of paddy sown in June-July and harvested in December-January.
Danḍapāt	- For administrartve convenience, the crown land during the rules of various kings of Orissa was divided into a number of *danḍapāṭs*; and *danḍapāṭs* into a group of *biśis* and *khanḍas*.
Darśan	- It is the viewing of an auspicious deity, person, or an object of veneration (such as pilgrimage shrines) and the experience results in spiritual upliftment. ("*durlabhaṃ mānuṣa janma dehīṇāṃ kṣīṇa bhanguraṃ / tatrāpi durlabhaṃ manye vaikunṭha-priya-darśanam//*" Sankarācārya)
Daśābatāra (*daśa+ abatāra*)	- The ten incarnations of Viṣṇu are Matsya (fish), Kachhapa (tortoise), Varāha (boar), Nṛsiṃha (man-lion), Vāmana (dwarf), Paraśurāma (Rāma with axe), Rāma (Divine warrior), Baḷarāma, Buddha (Kṛṣṇa / Jagannātha), and Kalki (yet to come on a white horse with sword in hand as the redeemer of righteousness).
Deva	- A demigod or godly person.
Dharma	- The capacity to render service, which is the essential quality of a living being.
Dikpāḷas	- Eight deities Who lord over the eight corners (four cardinal & four intermediate) viz., Indra (east), Yama (south), Varuṇa (west), Kuvera (north), Agni (south-east), Niṛti (south-west), Vāyu (north-west) , and Aisāṇeśwara (north-east).
Ekaratha (*deuḷa*)	- Such a temple (*eka* = one; *ratha* = chariot) does not manifest any pilaster on its face. It is square in general ground plan (*caurāsa*). The other types of temples found in Orissa are of *Triratha, Pañcaratha, Saptaratha,* and *Navaratha* varieties that are described elsewhere in the glossary.
Entablature	- Upper portion of a structure supported by a colonnade.
Finial	- Finishing portion of a pinnacle (e.g., the *Kaḷasa* - like *Dadhinauti*).
Frieze	- The part of the entablature between the architrave and cornice often ornamented with figures.
Ganḍi	- The torso of a temple i.e., the pyramidal roof or the curvilinear spire above the *bāda* but below the *mastaka*.
Garjāts	- These areas (falling beyond the limits of *Moghulbandī*) were called as tributary states because the respective heads were paying rents to the Moghuls,Marāṭhās, or the British.
Garuḍa	- He is the son of Kāśyapa and Vinatā and the younger brother of Aruṇa (the charioteer of the Sun – God). Once while returning from the heavens, he met Viṣṇu and agreed to serve as His *vāhāna* (carrier). Garuḍa is

described as having four arms, wings, the beak of a kite, and other features like a human being. Images of Garuḍa are used by Vaiṣṇavas as emblems of their devotion. Jaṭāyu, the celestial bird of *Tretāyuga*, is believed to be his incarnation.

Gāyatrī mantra - This *mantra* (hymn): "*om bhūr, bhūvaḥ, svaḥ, tatsavitur vareṇyaṃ bhargo devasya dhī mahī dhiyo yonaḥ pracodayāt*" (Yajur *Veda*) is conceived as the worship of Āditya (the Sun) who incidentally symbolizes three female deities viz., Gāyatrī, Sāvitrī, and Saraswatī and invoked in the morning, noon, and evening respectively for spiritual enlightenment.

Ghanṭa - It is made of bell-metal and resembles a deep round platter. When struck with a wooden stick, it produces sound which is audible from quite a distance. It is ubiquitous in the temples of India.

Gini – It is made of bell-metal and smaller than cymbal. In *Kīrtanas*, a pair of *ginis* is a must since its sound is associated with things spiritual and arouse devotional leanings in people.

Goloka - Celestial abode of Viṣṇu.

Grāmadevatā (as females: *grāmadevī*) - Folk deity widely noticed in rural areas. A *grāmadevatā* may be a local deity, spirit of a place, person, tree, or a serpent. Generally worshipped in the form of earthenware icons or shapeless stones , they co-exist with Brahminical gods.

Guṇa - Material qualities such as *sattva* (goodness), *rajas* (passion), and *tamas* (ignorance). The *sāttvic* devotee worships the Supreme Being for spiritual upliftment and liberation; the *rājasic* for wealth and power; and the *tāmasic* for subjugating other beings.

Gunḍicā ghar - Also known as *Āṭopa manḍapa, Mahāvedī, Āḍapa manḍapa, Yajña Vedī*, *Janakpurī*, and *Rāsa manḍapa,* it is situated at a distance of about 2½ kms towards the north-eastern corner of the Jagannātha temple. It covers an area of approximately 5½ acres and the height of its main *Piḍha* temple is 75ft. Besides the *Siṃhadwār* (the main entrance), the other south-west facing entrance is called '*nākacaṇā dwār*' and through it the Jagannātha triad begins the return journey in the awaiting cars brought here by '*dakṣiṇa moḍa*'. On the occasion of *sandhyā darśana* on *śukḷa navamī*, thousands of devotees visit the deities to earn religious merit and thus reaffirm their faith in the popular *śḷoka* - "*nīḷādrau daśa barṣaṇi, gunḍicā manḍape dine / debatā darśanaṃ puṇyaṃ, rātrau daśaguṇa bhabet //* "

Haritaki - The curvilinear outline of the massive Jagannātha temple that resembles a partly sunk *haritaki* with its ridges appearing like pilasters (Oriya - *Hariḍā*; *Terminalia chebula*).

Herā Pañcamī - On the fifth day of the bright fortnight (*Śukḷa pañcamī*) in the month of *Āṣaḍha* (June-July), Mahālakṣmī arrives at the Jagamohan of *Gunḍicā ghar* to a grand reception. As her consort hesitates to accompany her back to the main Temple despite her pleadings , she damages a part of His chariot out of anger and returns through Herāgohiri Sāhi. On the next day the three *rathas* are

pulled backwards in a U turn (*dakṣiṇa moḍa*) and parked in front of the '*nākacaṇā dwār*' for the return car festival(*Bāhuḍāyātrā*).

Jagannātha - In *Śaradātiḷaka* (ŚT), *jaganmaya* Jagannātha (*Prīnayed anayā stutyā jagannāthaṃ jaganmayam/ dharmārthākāmamokṣānan āptaye purusottamam//* 17. 167) is the only concept used to address the Almighty and further emphasizes to meditate upon Him along with His consort ("*dhyāyed vallabhayā sārdham jagannāthaṃ jaganmayam/* 17.30"). Worshipped also as Kṛṣṇa, the "beloved of *gopīs* " (*gopījanaballabha*), He has nine *śaktīs* representing His omnipotence such as Vimaḷā, Jñānā, Prahvī, Utkarṣiṇī, Satyā, Yogā, Iśāṇā, Anugrahā, and Krīyā. His eight accoutring *āyudhas* (weapons) viz., *śankha, cakra, gadā, ankuśa, khaḍga, dhanuh-śara, mūṣaḷa,* and *phāśa* (noose) are glorified through respective *mantras* and *mudrās* (ŚT, 17.45-45). By worshipping Lord Purusottama Jagannātha, one acquires the four *purusārthas - dharma, artha, kāma,* and *mokṣa.*

Jagannāth Temple Act - As a preliminary measure towards undertaking a comprehensive legislation, the Purī Śrī Jagannāth Temple (Administration) Act, 1952 or "Orissa Act of XIV of 1952" was passed. And in pursuance of which the record-of-rights and duties of the *sevaks, pūjārīs,* and such other persons associated with the Temple were prepared by a special officer. He identified about 150 *sevak nijogs* which are generally hereditary. Over centuries, several *nijog* services have been discontinued but a sizable number has been added to the thirty-six categories (*Chatisā nijogs*) introduced by *Mahārājā* Anaṅgabhīma Dev. Later Śrī Jagannāth Temple Act, 1954 (Orissa Act XI of 1955) was enforced on the 27th October 1960 A.D. This Act stipulates, "The general superintendence of the Temple and its endowments shall vest in the State Government which may pass any order that may be deemed necessary for the proper maintenance or administration of the Temple or its endowments or in the interest of the general public worshipping in the Temple."

Jajña - Sacrificial offerings of ghee and other articles to fire to propitiate deities or to fulfill one's vows.

Janghā - Also called *pañcakāma* or *pañcakarma,* this is the first part of the five elements from below upwards forming the *bāḍa* or rectangular portion of a temple.

Jñāna - Knowledge of the body; the soul and the 'supreme lord'.

Kabir (b.1440) - He preached a religion of love and had no faith in rituals or external formalities either of Hinduism or of Islam. The true means of salvation, according to him, was to be free from all sham, insincerity, and cruelty; and to indulge in *bhajan* or devotional worship. *Kabir caurā (caurāh) maṭha* at Swargadwār (Puri) is believed to have been founded by him during his sojourn. He believed, "Jagannātha as the source of enlightenment (*kabiran sunah cinhu kalidhāmā, ādipuruṣa jahin jyoti samānā*)."

Kāhāṇa - A measure of number equivalent to sixteen *paṇas* or 1280 (16 X 80).

Kāḷa - Eternal time.

Kaḷiyuga - The age of quarrel, the fourth and last age in the cycle of a *mahā -yuga* in which we are now living.

Kanḍis - By-lanes. Puri is known for its seven *sāhis* (residential colonies) and fortytwo *kanḍis.*

Kāṅgaḷa - Paupers. They were allowed to enter Puri on a particular day without paying pilgrim tax during the rule of the Moghuls and the Marāṭhās.

Karatāḷa - Cymbals made of brass.

Karma - According to Hindu scriptures, we suffer or enjoy as a consequence of our own *Karma* (activities).

Khās dakhal - Property in the possession of the owner.

Khecuri - This dish may be cooked with ingredients like, polished rice, gram/ *moong dāl,* sugar, butter oil, grated coconut, asafoetida, turmeric powder, ginger, cardamom, (*Amomum aromaticum*), and cloves.

Kheyi - A part of the already offered *bhoga* which was being given to the servitors of the Jagannātha temple in the past in lieu of their salary in hard times. The *kheyi* system is still prevalent in the Temple.

Kīrtana - Glorification of the supreme lord. It consists of the repeated utterance of the name and description of the qualities of the divine being. Of the nine modes of *bhakti,* it is the second. It has two aspects, viz., *nāma-kīrtana* and *līḷā-kīrtana.* Whereas the former consists in uttering the name and singing the glory of the Lord, or expressing repentance for one's sins; in the latter, songs describing the various deeds of the god (e.g., Kṛṣṇa) are sung.

Kṛṣṇa - Son of Vāsudeva and Devakī, He is God incarnate and depicted with a blue-black skin, wearing a yellow garment and a peacock feather in His crown. The basic sources of Kṛṣṇa's mythology are the *Mahābhārata,* the *Harivaṃsa,* and the *Bhāgavata.* The main theme of Kṛṣṇa's life and teachings is *Karma Yoga,* the art of striving for both personal perfection and social efficiency. Kṛṣṇa has said: "I am the creator, maintainer, and destroyer.... I am the goal, support, abode, master, and friend of all. I am immortality and death, being and non-being. No entity, either moving or non-moving, can exist without Me.... And yet, although everything originates from Me, I remain the same, unchanged, and transcendental (The *Bhagavad Gītā*)."

Kṣatriya - According to the system of the four social orders, it refers to the administrative or protective occupation.

Kumbha - It resembles a jar and is the second moulding from below upwards of the *jangha.*

Kurukṣetra - It was here that the great battle between the Pandavas and the Kauravas was fought. On seeing, Arjuna's hesitation to fight, Kṛṣṇa reminded him of his duty as a warrior. He pointed out to him that the superior way is the dispassionate discharge of one's duty(*dharma*) without consideration for

personal triumph or gain; and reposing complete faith in God.

Līlā - Kṛṣṇa's youthful dalliances with the *gopīs.* These pastimes are interpreted as symbolic of the loving interplay between god and the human soul. *Swāmī* Vivekananda said, "The most marvellous passage of His life, the most difficult to understand, and which none ought to attempt to understand until he has become perfectly chaste and pure."

Lintel - Stoneslab over door - way and window supported on columns.

Mādaḷa(mārdaḷa) - See *Mṛdaṅga.* Its shape is near cylindrical and now mostly used by the native tribes in their various cultural activities.

Māḍha - It was a non-inscribed gold coin weighing half a *toḷā* (a *toḷā* = 11.66gms).

Mahābhārata - It is a *Purāṇa-samhitā,* a collection of old legends, and an *Itivritti* (traditional account). It is an authoritative manual laying down rules of conduct for the attainment of *trivarga* or the three great aims animating all human conduct - *dharma* (moral and religious duties), *artha* (material wealth) , and *Kāma* (pleasure of the flesh. It also claims to be a *Mokṣa Śāstra,* pointing the way of salvation to mankind (Raychaudhuri, 1967).

Mahābhūta - The five great material elements: earth, water, fire, air, and ether.

Mahāprasād - Highly venerated food offering of the Jagannātha triad. It is never reheated and the term is not generally applicable to offerings made elsewhere. In the *Padmapurāṇa,* it is profusely glorified, "*yatrannapācikā lakṣmīḥ svayaṃ bhoktā janārdanaḥ/ tasmādnnaṃ biprarṣe daivatairapi durlavam//*" Commitments made by persons touching or holding it are rarely flouted. While relishing it, no distinction of caste, creed, or social status is made. "This seems a paradox when we consider that Hinduism or more properly *Brāhmanism* is based on *Varnāśrama* or caste system (M.M.Ganguly, Orissa and her Remains, 1912) ".

Makaracāuḷa - Uncooked rice mixed with banana, milk solids, grated coconut, *chāci* (handmade cane sugar), nutmeg, cardamom (big), and black pepper.

Makuṭā – A kind of cloth worn at the time of worship.

Māṇa - It has several denominations. In terms of area one *māṇa* is 1/5th acre; in terms of amount, it varies across its different sizes from 150gms to 1250gms. In the *Ṛg Veda* reference to the golden *māṇa* has been made which authorities identify with the old Babylonian weight-unit, the *mānah* (Latin- *Minā*).

Manabadharma - See *Manusmṛti*

Mantra - It is a sacred utterance (of syllable, word, or verse) , considered to be an inalienable part of Hindu religious rites. Repetition of or meditation on a particular *mantra* (e.g., *Om*) can induce a trance-like state in an individual and can uplift his spiritual awareness as these are believed to possess mystical or spiritual efficacy.

Manusmṛti - Popularly known as the *Mānava dharmaśāstra,* it is attributed to the

legendary lawgiver, Manu (first century BC). In Hinduism, *dharma* is the religious and moral law which governs individual and group conduct. One of its distinctive features is contextual sensitivity. *Dharma* constitutes the subject matter of the *Dharmasūtras*, religious manuals that are the earliest source of Hindu law and in the course of time was extended into lengthy compilations of law and custom, the *Dharmaśāstras*.

Maṭamaṭi Khān - Mentioned as such in the *Mādaḷāpāñji*, he was in fact Mutāqad Khān (Mirzā Māki) who was Governor of Orissa from 1632-1641 A.D. during the reign of Shahjahan (Banerjee, R.D., vol.II. p.42)

Māyā - (*ma* - not + *ya* - this) Illusion, which deludes the living entity and distances him/her from the 'Supreme Lord'. For Śaṅkarācārya, *māyā* is ignorance which is primordial and envelopes reality; and to overcome it, one needs to know the truth. Knowledge alone leads to liberation otherwise called *mukti* or *mokṣa*.

Moffusil - Rural areas.

Moghulbandī - Regions under the direct control of the Moghuls in India and from where they collected revenue. Dismemberment of Orissa into various political units like the *Moghulbandī* and the *Garjāts* was the outcome of the Mahommedan policy of divide and rule.

Mṛdaṅga - A percussion instrument (like a tom-tom or *mādaḷa*) in which skins of parchment are stretched on both sides of a terra-cotta hollow frame (as if two cones joined at the base with their pointed ends removed). It is a necessary accompaniment with *ginis* for *kīrtanas* and beaten with both hands that cause a crescendo of sound.

Mukti - Liberation; freedom from material consciousness.

Muktimanḍapa - Established by Anaṅgabhīma Dev-II in the temple of Jagannātha, this social and religious centre (*sabhā*) of learned Brahmin scholars is believed to be second in holiness only to the *Ratnasiṃhāsan*. It was reconstructed (38ft x 38ft) by Prataparudra Dev with a pyramidal top resting on sixteen chlorite pillars representing interestingly the *śāsans* (villages) of austere Brahmins who had the exclusive right to seat on it. These Brahmins though connected with the Jagannātha cult are inwardly *śaktas* to a large extent.

Nābhi - Navel. It refers to the *nābhibrahma / brahma padārtha* or highly symbolic core elements of the *dāru murties* (divine wooden images) representing Their essence. These were concealed many a time by the *sevaks* to prevent defilement or destruction in the hands of the marauders when it was impossible to carry away the deities to far away places.

Naiṣṭhic - One who observes religious rites with austerity.

Nānak (b.1469) - The founder of Sikhism and the reviver of the pure monotheistic doctrine of the *Upaniṣads* . He spent his life in preaching the gospel of universal toleration based on all that was good in Hinduism and Islam. Like Kabir, he preached the unity of godhead and was in favour of a middle course between

extreme asceticism and pleasure-seeking. He met Caitanya during his visit to Purī and believed to have graced a place near Swargadwār known now as *Bāoli* (*Bāoḍi*) *maṭha* having a stepped well within its premises.

Nauti – A unit of measurement which is equal to 14 *seers* or 17.23 kgs (@ one seer = 1.23 kgs). Twenty *nauties* make one *bharaṇa*.

Navagraha - According to the Hindu mythology the nine planets are: Ravi (Sun), Candra (Moon), Maṅgaḷa (Mars), Budha (Mercury), Bṛhaṣpati (Jupiter), Śukra (Venus), Śani (Saturn), Rāhu (ascending node), and Ketu (descending node). The last two are called *chāyā grahas*. In that order (starting from right to left), they usually grace the architrave above the lintel of the *gumuṭa* (entrance to the temple complex).

Navakaḷevara - When one lunar month of *Āṣādha* is followed by another, the deities change Their bodies during such a leap month. The rejuvenation or remodelling with new materials and the implanting of the mysterious *nābhibrahma* (believed to be the life force) from the old images to the new ones are performed under secret (*gupta*) ritualistic procedures and amidst high enthusiasm.

Navaratha(*deuḷa*) -Such a temple has nine pilasters including one *rāhā pāga*, four *anartha* (*aṇuratha*) *pāgas*, and four *Koṇaka pāgas* (of these two are *Parikoṇaka pāgas*).

Nijjote - (*nij + jote*) Cultivation done not through tenants but under one's own direct investment and supervision.

Nirmālya -The sun-dried cooked rice (*kaibalya*) *Mahāprasāda* is considered very sacred ("*jagannāthasya naivedyaṃ mahāpātaka nāsanam, bhakṣanāt phaḷa-māpnoti kapiḷā koṭi-dānajam*"- *Brahmavaivarta Purāṇa*). It is believed, a grain of *nirmālya* in the mouth of a dying person can cleanse all his vices and take the soul to *vaikunṭha* (the abode of Viṣṇu). It sanctifies things on which it is sprinkled and can be preserved for years together.

Nirvāṇa - *Nirvāṇa* or the final extinction of life without undergoing the chain of successive birth and rebirth was the chief aim of Buddhism. According to Buddha, salvation requires moralities (*śīḷas*), concentration (*samādhi*), and finally insight (*prajña*) that ultimately cause *sambodhi* (enlightenment) and *nirvāna*. It is also believed that it is not mere extinction but a tranquil state to be realized by someone when freed of all cravings.

Om - It is a primeval sound composed of three letters viz., A , U , and M which is the source of all Vedic prayers. Believed to be synonymous with the *Brahma*, it represents all physical and astral bodies both visible and invisible; and from the most physical to the most spiritual on four cosmic planes (*Manḍukya Upaniṣad*).

Pāga -Pilaster or segment

Pahanḍi - The shifting of the deities from one destination to the other. It is *dhāḍi pahanḍi* when the deities move one after the other in close succession (e.g., *Ratnasiṃhāsana* to *Snānabedī*). It is *goṭi pahanḍi* when the next deity moves only after the preceding deity is already ensconced at the appropriate

place (e.g., *snānavedi* to *aṇabasara piṇḍi*). *Devī* Subhadrā and *Śrī* Sudarśana are carried on shoulders but *Śrī* Baḷabhadra and *Śrī* Jagannātha are carried all the way with little pauses in forward and backward motions as if lending Their ears to the earnest prayers of devotees.

Pāiks - They were soldiers - cum - cultivators who in large numbers took up arms and accompanied *Gajapati* kings to distant lands in course of their expeditions. These *pāiks* constituted the main body of local infantry and during the pre-Muslim era, their number was not less than one hundred thousand (Stirling , 1846).

Pañca devatās - In Jagannātha, the five main sects of Hindus see their *istadevatās*. He is Ganeśa on the *Snānamanḍapa*; He is Nārāyaṇa on the *ratnavedī*; He is Sūryadeva on the chariot; He is Rudra during *navakaḷevara*; and He is Ambikā (Durgā) during *Śayanapurnimā*. *"gaṇenārāyaṇe rudre, ambike bhāskare tathā/ bhinnā bhinnaṃ na kartavyaṃ pañca deva namo' stute//"*

Pañca ratha - Such a temple (*deuḷa*) has five pilasters including one *rāhā pāga* (central pilaster / segment) , two *anartha* (*aṇuratha*) *pāgas* (intermediate pilasters) , and two *koṇaka pāgas* (end pilasters).

Pañca tīrthas - It refers to the five holy places of ablution at Purī e.g., Indradyumna (tank, 485' x 396'), Śwetagangā (tank, 254' x 184'), Mārkanḍa (tank), Maṇikarṇīkā (well)/ Rohiṇīkunḍa (inside the Temple premises), and *Mahodadhi* (the sea). There is a popular belief that the *kūrmas* (tortoises) of Indradyumna tank were once the hardy labourers who carried stone blocks on their backs to the higher reaches of the Temple of Jagannātha during its construction. Because of strenuous labour, they later metamorphosed into tortoises and were provided sanctuary here. Their contributions are fondly remembered even today by the visitors to this *tīrtha* who also feed them.

Panḍit (*Punḍit*) - A learned Hindu.

Paramātma - The supreme universal soul. Rādhā's love for Kṛṣṇa personifies the aspiration of the *jivātmā* to merge with the *Paramātmā*.

Paramparā - The disciplic succession through which spiritual knowledge is transmitted.

Pardānasīn - Under a veil. A custom still in vogue among the womenfolk in India to cover their heads or faces before respectful elders and strangers.

Pasarā - Shops inside the *ānandabazār* of the Jagannātha temple selling *mahāprasāda*.

Patitas - The Outcastes; the fallen ones.

Perganāh - A tract comprising of many villages.

Pice - A copper coin (*paisā*) in circulation before the present metric system was adopted in 1957, but the term is very much alive in daily transactions/ lexicon. It was equivalent to 1/ 4 anna (Re1= 16 annas).

Pier - A solid support (usually square in section) employed to sustain the dead load from a beam, lintel, or thrust of an arch.

Pilaster - Square column half-built into a wall.

Piṇḍikā	- Presents to gods.
Porch	- A building forming an enclosure or protection for a doorway.
Prakṛti	- Nature (lit., that which is predominated). There are two *prakṛtis – aparā-prakṛti*, the material nature; and *parā-prakṛti*, the spiritual energy or nature of the Lord. These are predominated over by the Supreme Godhead.
Prema	- Real love for god representing the highest mission of life.
Propylaeum	- Gateway of architectural importance leading into a temple.
Purāṇa	- *Purāṇas* are written almost entirely in narrative couplets in much the same style as the epic poems. Genealogy of gods and saints, history of the royal dynasties, sacrifices, festivals, caste duties, myths, and legends find a place in them. They have some relationship with traditional law books and have incorporated other materials of religious concern during the 5th to 11th century. Besides the principal surviving *Purāṇas* (eighteen), there are *Upapurāṇas* (eighteen) and a large number of *Sthaḷapurāṇas* or *Māhātmyas*.
Purī	- In the remote past it was known as *Brahmapurī* after Brahmā. *Puruṣottama kṣetra* (the abode of Puruṣottama Jagannātha) was reestablished by Yajāti and the name Purī (Lat.19 18'17" & Long. 85 51'39") appears to have been its abbreviation. It is also known by its other names such as as *Cakratīrtha, Dasābatāra kṣetra, Nīḷācaḷa, Nīḷāgiri, Saṅkha kṣetra,* and *Śrīkṣetra.* The sanctity of the place goes thus in a *sḷoka*, "*gaṅgāyāṃ ca jaḷe muktiḥ vārānasyāṃ jaḷe sthaḷe/ jaḷe sthaḷe cantarikṣe muktiḥ srīpuruṣottame//*" In the *Kapiḷa Saṃhitā*, it is mentioned, " *sarveṣāṃ sarva devānaṃ rājā śrīpuruṣottamaḥ/ sarveṣāṃ sarva kṣetrāṇāṃ rājā śrīpuruṣottamaḥ//*" Herein, it is further stated, "*vārānasyā samamasti kṣetramekārakānanam / puruṣākṣyasamaṃ caiba nāsti trailokyamanḍaḷe //*" *Brahma Puraṇa* waxes eloquent on this *tirtha*: "*yathā sarveśvara viṣṇu sarvalokottamotamaḥ/ tathā samasta-tirthānāṃ variṣṭhaṃ puruṣottamam / āste yatra svayam devo muktidaḥ puruṣottamaḥ/ dhanyāste vivudhaprakṣya ye basanti kuḷe narāḥ//* "
Pyramid	- A structure with a square or polygonal base and sloping sides meeting at an apex.
Rāma	- He was the King of Ayodhya and the Divine Incarnate of the Supreme Lord Viṣṇu. As the embodiment of the Absolute truth, He was the source of unlimited pleasure for transcendentalists and profusely glorified in verses of religious texts, e.g., "*hey rāma purusottama narahare nārāyana keśava/ govinda garuḍadhwaja guṇānidhe dāmodar āmādhava/ he kṛṣṇa kamaḷāpate yadupate sītāpate śrīpate/ vaikunṭhādhipate carācarapate lakṣmīpate pāhi mām //*"
Rāmānanda	- He stood fifth in the apostolic succession from Rāmānuja and made Viṣṇu-worship (in the incarnation of Rāma) a national religion of India. As an exponent of the liberal *bhakti* cult, he preached the fundamental equality of all religions and the unity of Godhead among his followers who were from all classes. He chose twelve disciples, not from the priests or nobles, but among the despised castes. He visited Purī toward the end of the 14th century A.D.

Rāmānandī -The three prominent vertical lines which adorn the Jagannātha temple below the *dadhinauti* is the famous *Rāmānandī tilak*. The followers of Rāmānanda also are called as such whose distinguishing mark is the atypical *tilak*.

Rāmānuja - Whilst Saṅkara emphasised absolute monism (*advaita*), Rāmānuja propounded the "qualified monism" (*viśiṣtadvaita*) and thereby tried to establish the supremacy of devotion to a single god and of the cult of god (*bhakti*). He believed as strongly as Saṅkara about the infallibility of the *Upanisads* as well as the *Brahmasūtras*. But as soon as he began his *Śribhāsya*, he started refuting Saṅkara's theory about the relationship of work and knowledge, about real knowledge, about the relationship between *ātman*, *brāhman* and the world, about emancipation, etc. He laid a movement against the Saivites proclaiming the unity of god under the title of Viṣṇu- the Cause and the Creator of all things (Hunter, 1872 A.D.). He visited Purī and founded the Emāra *maṭha*. One of his *sḷokas* viz., "*nīḷācaḷa nivāsāya nityāya paramātmane / baḷabhadra subhadrābhyāṃ jagannathāyate namaḥ//*" is still very popular in Purī.

Rāsa - Kṛṣṇa's youthful dalliances with Rādhā and *gopīs*. They are interpreted as symbolic of the loving interplay between god and the human soul. The rich variety of legends associated with Kṛṣṇa's life led to an abundance of representation in painting and sculpture in which the divine lover is shown playing the flute, surrounded by adoring *gopīs*.

Sāhāṇamelā - This is a mass (*sarba sādhāraṇa*) entry freely allowed twice in a day into the *Maṇikoṭha* (*garvagṛha*) to have close *darśana* (view) of gods and offer presents (*bheti* or *pindikā*) on the *Ratnabedī* but the devotees can not touch the deities.

Sāhiyātrā - As part of the cultural legacy of Purī, these festivities are organized at the level of *sāhis* (residential areas) from *Rāmanavamī* to *Rāmābhiṣeka* in the month of *Caitra* (March-April) from the evening till dawn. Participants demonstrate traditional martial skills (e.g., wrestling, sword fights, stick works, & *banāti* etc) and being attired in the garb of different deities like Siva, Durgā, Kāḷi, Nṛsiṃha, and Gaṇesa or *Purāṇic* characters like Hanumān, Rāvaṇa, Mahīrāvaṇa, Triśirā, and Saptaśirā or simply a *nāgā* (a warrior who is incidentally equipped with sixteen different weapons excluding accoutrements) ,they arouse spiritual / religious feelings in the beholders and also entertain them. *Rekhasundarī* (a form of direction) from the Temple is issued to organize it.

Śakti (power) - It is personified as *Devī* (the feminine aspect of divinity). The Absolute Being that was not manifested to the senses or intellect, became definite and easy to comprehend in the form of the Divine Mother. The Supreme goddess thus became the hallmark of Hindu religion and glorified in umpteen treatises e.g., *Ādi Śaṅkarācārya* writes in the *Bhawānyaṣtakaṃ*, "*na tāto na mātā na bandhurna dātā na putro na putrī na bhṛtyo na bhartā / na jāyā na vidyā na vṛttirmamaiva gatistvaṃ gatistvaṃ tvamekā bhawānī//*"

Sanātana-dharma - The eternal values applicable to all individuals irrespective of their status, gender, and sectarian belief. According to Rāmānujācārya, the word

sanātana has neither any beginning nor end and is a part of human existence. Whereas religion conveys the idea of faith that may change over time, *Sanātana-dharma* remains unaltered.

Śaṅkara - He is considered as one of the greatest scholars of all times. He was the chief propagator of *advaitavāda* (monism) which is best summed up in his own words such as "*brahma satyaṃ jagat mithyā, jīva brahmaivaḥ na paraḥ*" i.e., the *brahma* alone is real, the world is illusory, the individual and the Universal Soul are one. His main works are the commentaries on the *Upaniṣads*, the *Bhagvadgitā*, and the *Vedāntasūtra*. The Saivas consider him as an incarnation of Lord Siva but he is represented in the Buddhist tales as a cruel persecutor of the Buddhists.

Sanyāsī - A person who has renounced the world; a mendicant.

Saptaratha (deuḷa) - Such a temple has seven pilasters on a face including one *rāhā pāga*, two *koṇaka pāgas*, and four *anartha pāgas* (of these two are *pari anartha pāgas*).

Śārada - A kind of paddy sown in January- February and harvested in April- May.

Satyayuga - The first of the four ages of a *mahāyuga*. *Satyayuga* was characterized by virtue, wisdom, and religion.

Smṛti - Memory or tradition. They are less authoritative than *Śṛti* and the compositions are called *Vedāṅga*. They have been handed down under transcendental direction by ancient sages to whom the *Vedas* were 'revealed'.

Śṛti - Revelation. They constitute the Vedic literature proper.

Stupa - A dome-like structure of solid masonry containing relics of a Buddhist saint.

Subāhdār - Also called *Subādār* or Subedar; The governor of a province during the Aghan and Mogul rule.

Subhadrā - Far from being a sister, Subhadrā is also considered to be Lakṣmī- the consort of Jagannātha,"*tayor madhye sthitāṃ bhadrāṃ subhadrāṃ kuṅkumārunam// sarva lāvanyasatiṃ sarvadevanamskṛtām/ lakṣmīṃ lakṣmīsahṛdayapaṅkajasthaṃ pṛthakṣthitām// varābjadhāriṇīm devīṃ divyanepathyabhūṣanām/*(5.33-35, *Pur. Mah., Skp.Pur.*); and as Ramā, She has been extolled, "*śaṅkhacakradharaḥ śriman nīlajīmūtasannibhaḥ / ramayā saha sarveśo nityaṃ viharati svayam//*(3.168, *Pur. Mah., Viṣṇurahasya*). Thus, in the temple of Jagannātha, the position of Subhadrā is difficult to comprehend.

Sudarśana - The *Matsya Purāṇa* illustrates that together with *sudarśana* (Viṣṇu), *triśūla* (Rudra) and *vajra* (Indra) originated from out of the indescribable energy of the Sun. Sudarśana is portrayed as an incarnation of Viṣṇu which He assumed to eliminate demons (*Ahirbudhnya Samhitā*). This *ugra* (violent) aspect of Viṣṇu relates Sudarśana to Narasiṃha.

Tāhiyā - Headgears that adorn Baḷabhadra and Jagannātha during *pahaṇḍi* on *Rathayātrā* and *Bahuḍāyātrā* etc. These are made of flowers and other artstic patterns of *śola* (*Aeschynomene aspera*) with a tuft of *duba* (sans. *Dūrvā* ; *Cynodon dactylon*) at the top.

Tapasyā - Voluntary acceptance of some material trouble for progress in spiritual life.

Tassel - A hanging ornament consisting of a bunch of silk or such other materials;

or anything like a tassel.

Toḷā - A unit weight of 11.66gms proximately.

Trāsa - An inverted large heart - shaped fan with a handle of 5-6ft (like *ālaṭa*) used in ceremonial processions.

Tretāyuga - The second age in the *mahāyuga*.

Triratha (deuḷa) - Such a temple has three pilasters on a face including one central pilaster (*rāhā pāga*) and two end pilasters (*koṇaka pāgas*).

Tyāga - Renunciation of activities performed with material consciousness.

Upaniṣad - (*upa-ni-ṣad*, to sit down near someone) The philosophical portions of the *Vedas* such as *Iśā Upaniṣad*, *Kena Upaniṣad*, etc. *Upaniṣads* (one hundred and eight) deal with the secret or esoteric doctrines. They contain conjectures of philosophical character which resolve around *brahman* and *ātman* i.e., the universal soul, the Absolute, and the individual self.

Vaiṣṇavism - Also called Viṣṇuism that involves the worship of Viṣṇu and His incarnations viz., Rāma and Kṛṣṇa. With Śaivism and Śaktism, it is one of the major forms of modern Hinduism. Several sects emerged out of them over the centuries that include the *Sanaka-sampradaya* (also known as *Nimbārkas*, the followers of Nimbārka), the *Śrī-sampradāya* (or *Śrīvaiṣṇavas*, the followers of Rāmānuja), the *Brahma-sampradāya* (the followers of Mādhava), and the *Rudra-sampradaya* (the followers of Viṣṇusvāmī). This faith emphasises on *bhakti*, or religious devotion and for its followers, Viṣṇu is not only the end (*upeya*) but also the means (*upāya*) because without His grace salvation is impossible.

Veda - (Origin *vid*, to know) This early literature was handed down from time immemorial by verbal transmission (*Śṛti*). It consists of four different classes of literary compositions: (1) the *Mantras* which are distributed in four collections known as *Ṛg, Yaju, Sām,* and *Atharva Samhitās*; (2) the *Brāhmaṇas* which are treatises relating to prayers, sacrificial ceremonies, and legends celebrating the exploits of kings etc; (3) the *Āraṇyakas* or forest texts that are meant for wood-dwelling hermits; and (4) the *Upaniṣads* such as the four *Vedic* scriptures (*Ṛg, Yaju, Sām, & Atharva*) and their supplements, the *Purāṇas, Mahabhārata, Vedānta-sūtra*,etc.

Vigraha - Idols or images. It is only a symbolic representation of the formless. Absolute on whom qualities are superimposed in a well defined manner to help the worshipper to meditate.

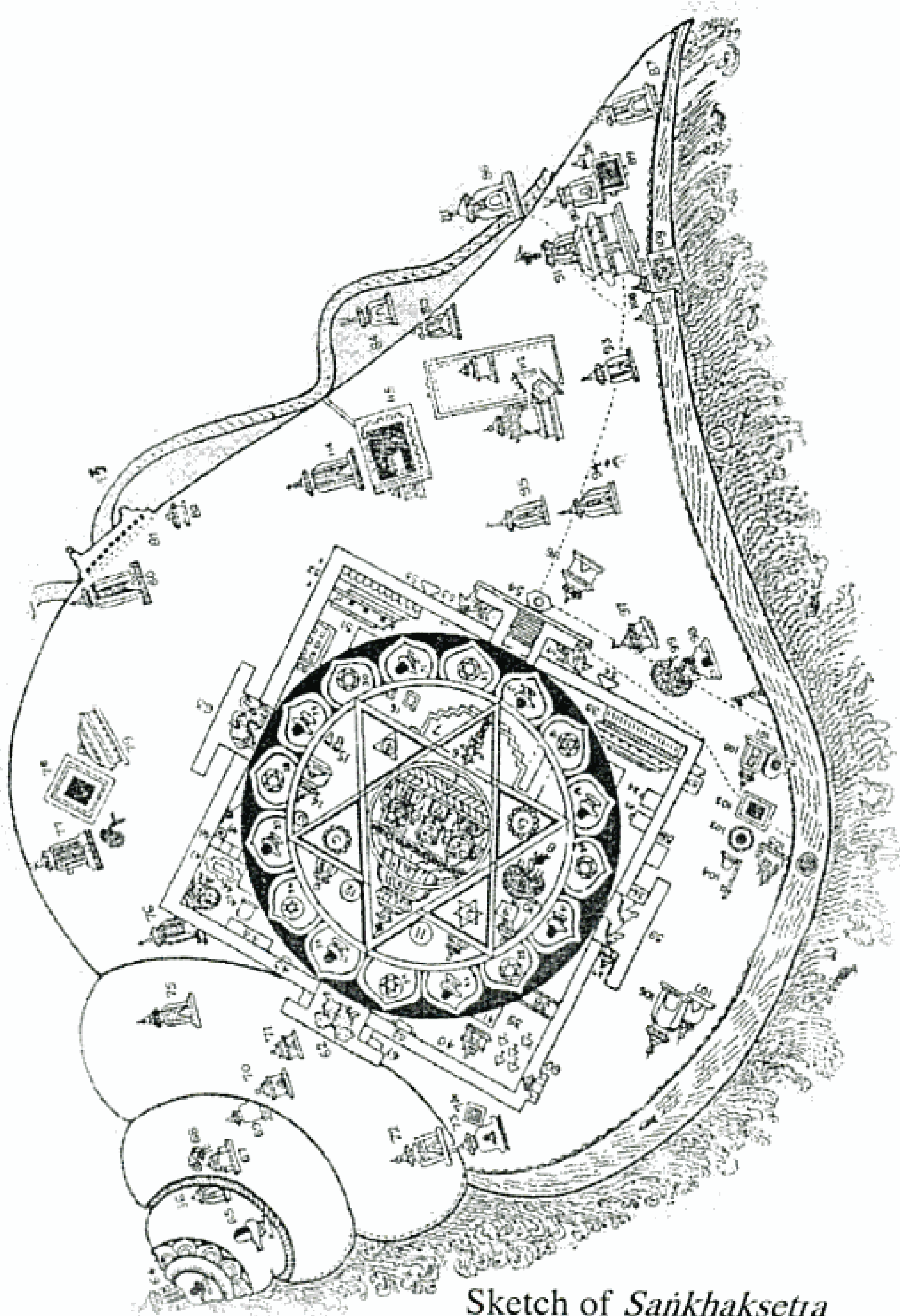
Yajña - Sacrifice.

Yoga - Linking of the consciousness of the infinitesimal living entity with the supreme living entity, Kṛṣṇa.



INDEX

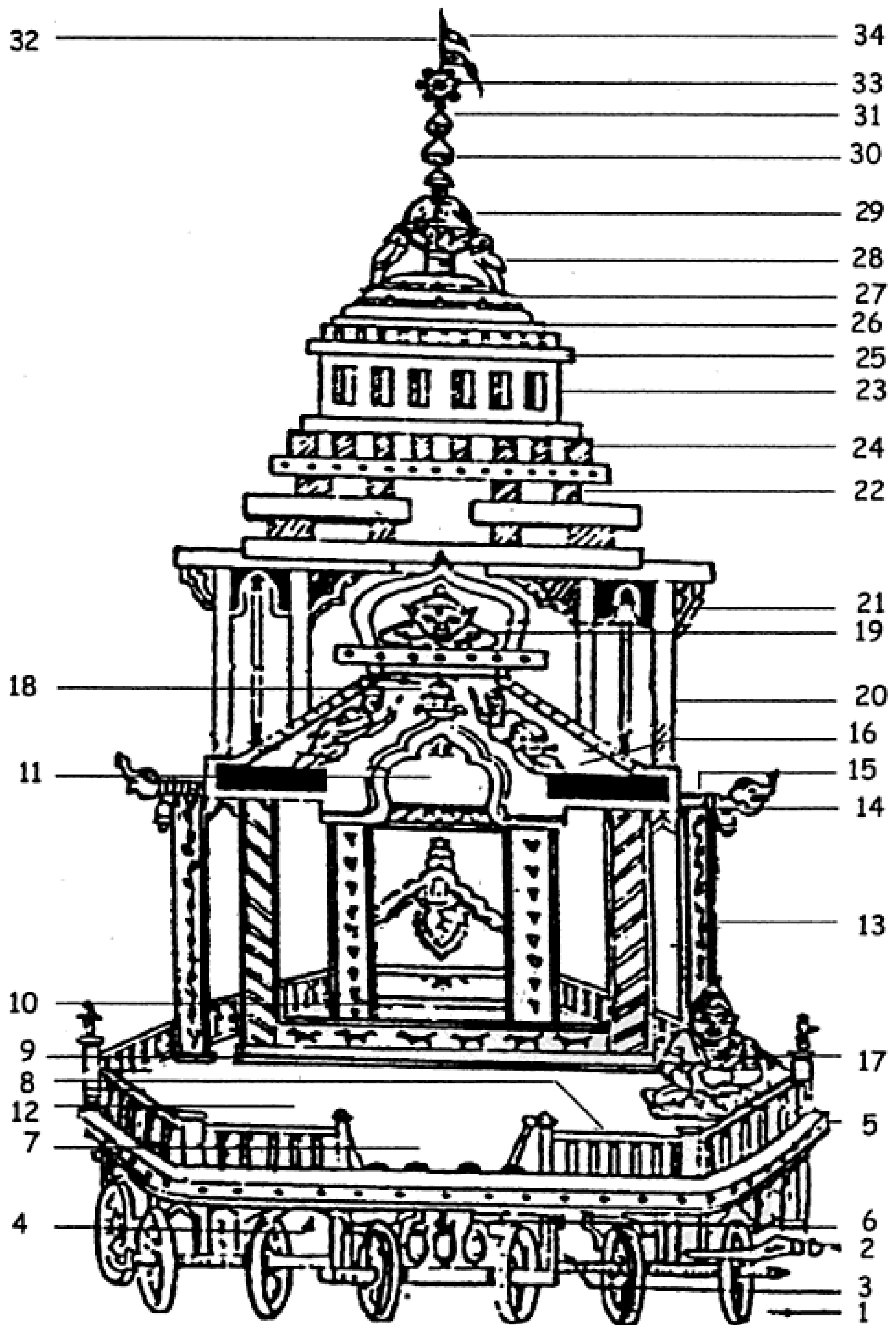
Index of important terms. The references to relevant pages are indicated by their serial numbers. The appendage 'n' in the pagination statement refers to the notes of the respective pages.



Sketch of *Saṅkhakṣetra*

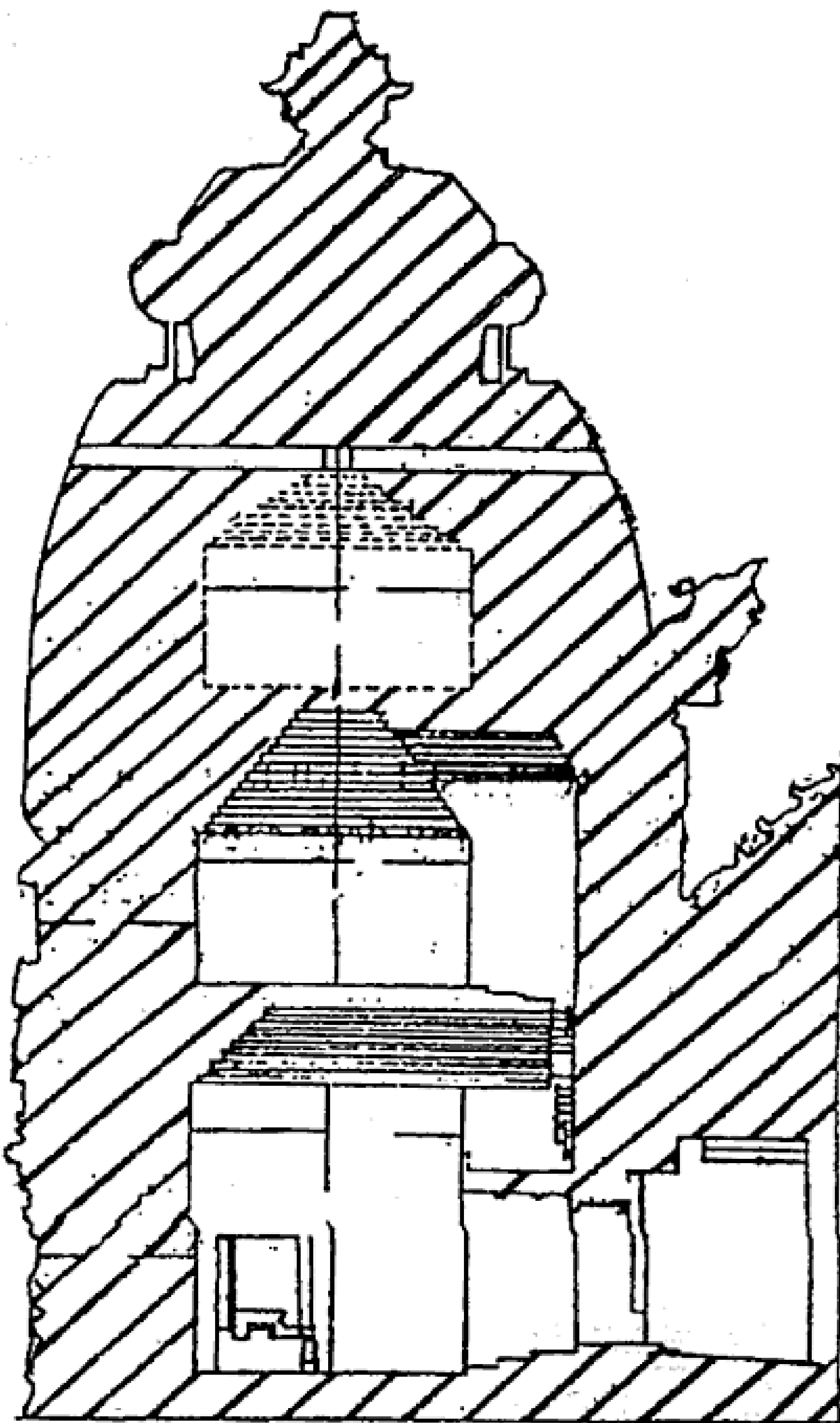
Details of Deities and Holy Places of *Saṅkhakṣetra*

1. Baḷabhadra, Jagannātha, Subhadrā, and Sudarsana
2. Kṣetreśwari Vimalā
3. Mahālaṣmī Devī
4. Uttarā Durgā
5. Bāṭa Mangaḷā
6. Garuḍa Stambha
7. Bhoga Manḍapa
8. Kaḷpa Bṛkṣa
9. Rohiṇi Kunḍa
10. Baṭa Ganesh
11. Uchiṣṭa Gaṇapati
12. Devī Saraswatī
13. Nabagraha
14. Koṇārk Suryadev
15. Pādapadma
16. Yajñya Bata
17. Angeśwara
18. Indrāṇī Devī
19. Kṣetrapāḷa
20. Swarṇa Vairabi
21. Mukteswarī
22. Kṣetrakāḷī
23. Baṭa Markanḍeya
24. Kātyāyanī
25. Gopeśwara
26. Beḍhā Kālī
27. Pātāḷeśwara
28. Bhubaneśwarī
29. Vaikunṭheśwara
30. Yājñyeśwarī
31. Isāṇeśwar
32. Śitaḷā Devī
33. Pākaśāḷā
34. Daksiṇeswara
35. Kundaḷeswara
36. Rāma Caitanya
37. Bāravāi Hanumān
38. Nirmalya Hanuman
39. Aḷakā Bāṭikā
40. Cakra Narāyaṇa
41. Rāmeswar
42. Caturdhāma
43. Kanapātā Hanumān
44. Niḷadri Vihari
45. Bhababyeśwara
46. Siāḷilaṭā
47. Koili Vaikunṭha
48. Tapaswī Hanumān
49. Subarna Kupa
50. Ānanda Bazār
51. Devasnāna Mandapa
52. Meghanāda Prachira
53. Siṃha Dwara
54. Aruṇa Stambha
55. Baḍachatā Matha
56. Chāuṇi Maṭha
57. Pejanaḷā
58. Prahari Hanumān
59. Daṣkiṇa Dwāra
60. Durgāmādhava
61. Mangaḷeśwarī
62. Paścima Dwāra
63. Uttara Dwāra
64. Śri Lokanātha
65. Rāmeśwara
66. Kanḍu Nṛsimha
67. Kanḍu Āsrama
68. Nikumbhiḷabata
69. Haracanḍī
70. Cāmunḍeśwarī
71. Banadurgā
72. Bāseḷī
73. Kapaḷamocana
74. Manikarnikā Tirtha
75. Ghaṭamangaḷā
76. Bhagabati
77. Markanḍeśwara
78. Markanḍeya Tīrtha
79. Saptamatṛkā
80. Aḷambā Devī
81. Aṭharanaḷā
82. Makaradhwaja Hanumān
83. Bhārgavi River
84. Mukteśwara
85. Bāṭa Mangaḷā
86. Kapoteśwara
87. Bilweśwara
88. Siddha Hanumān
89. Indradyumna Tirtha
90. Niḷakantheśwara
91. Ādi Nṛsimha
92. Gunḍicā Manḍapa
93. Mausimā
94. Maricikā Devī
95. Car cikā Devī
96. Śoḍoṣa Putrī
97. Nārāyaṇi Devī
98. Angirā Āsrama
99. Angirā Bata
100. Dakṣina Kāḷmī
101. Ugreśwara Āśrama
102. Śwetagangā
103. Muktiśiḷā
104. Ādi Sankara Pitha
105. Swargadwāra
106. Bārāhi Devī
107. Syāmā Kāḷī
108. Beḍi Hanumān
109. Cakra Tirtha
110. Cakra Nārāyaṇa
111. Mahodadhi Tirtha
112. Jagannātha Ballava
113. Kāśī Viswanātha
114. Viśweśwarī
115. Narendra Sarovāra

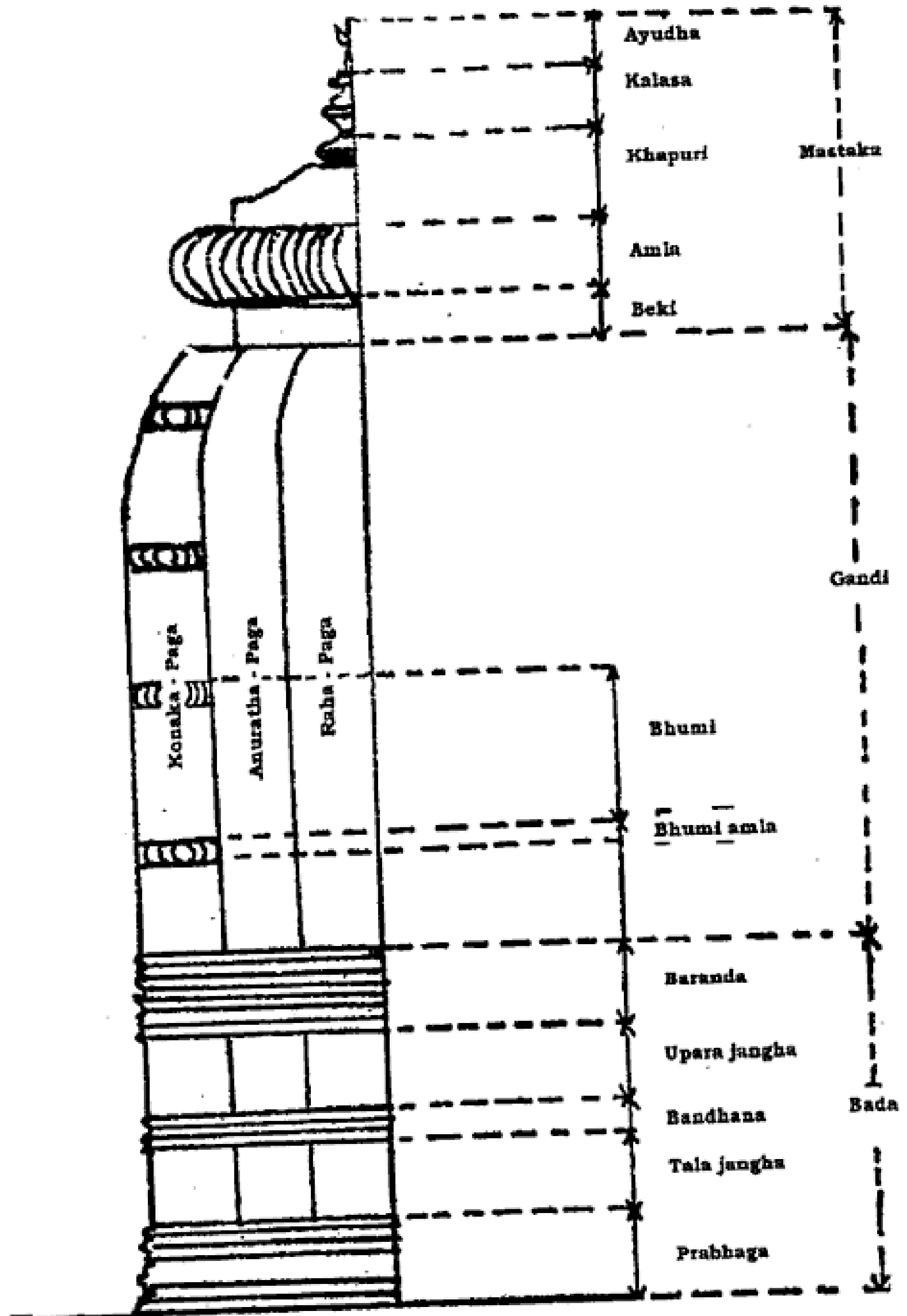


Different Parts of a Chariot :-

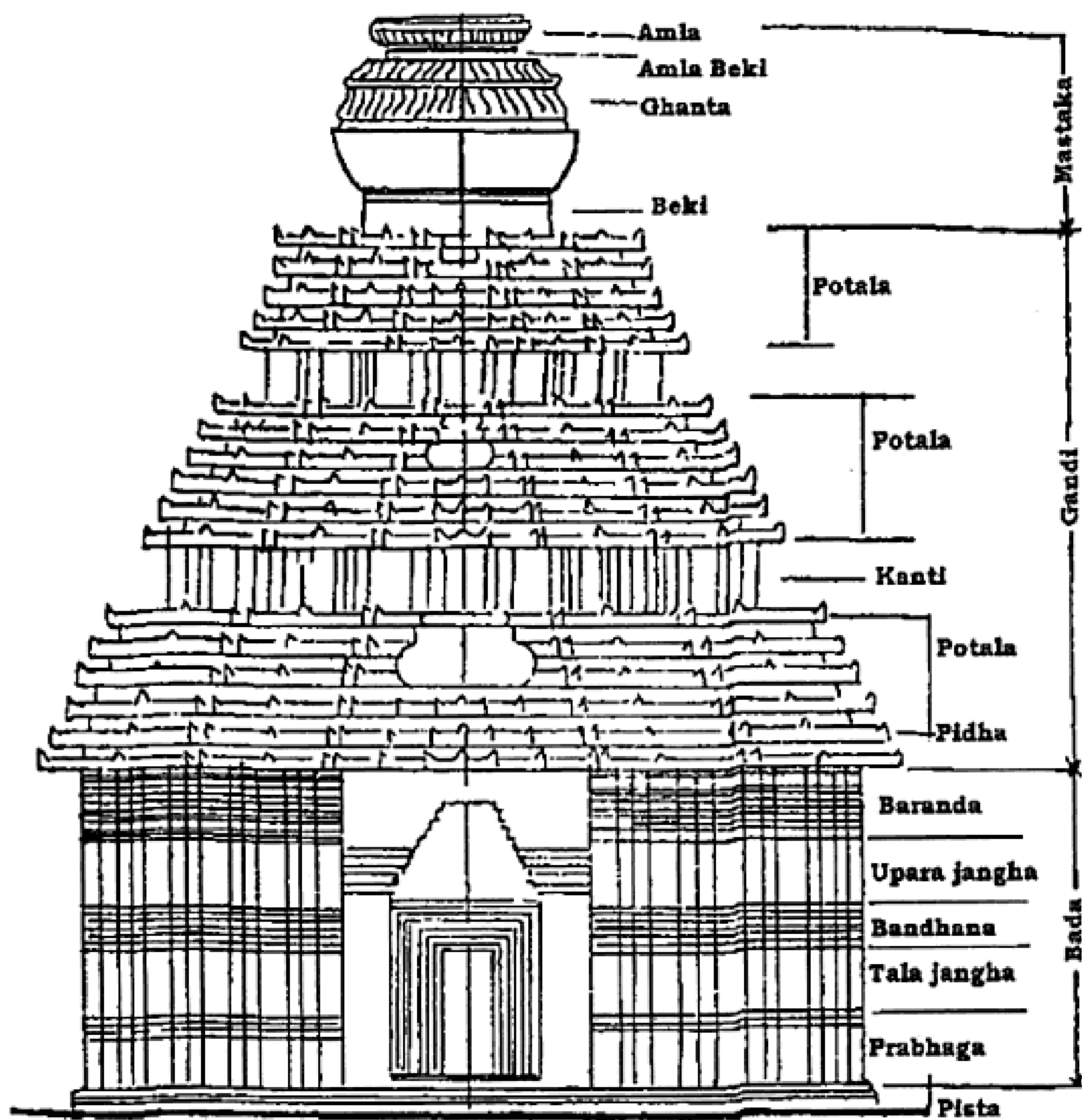
1. Caka (wheel), *2. Daṇḍiā, 3. Ara, 4. Bānki, 5. Haṅsa paṭā, 6. Kāni, 7. Saṅkha dwār, 8. Jāli, 9.Gāipaṭā, 10. Simhāsana, 11. Kanaka muṇḍāi, 12. Bhūmī, 13. Sola nāhāka, 14. Makara daṇḍa, 15. Basanta, 16. Dwāra ghoḍā, 17. Sārathī piḍhā, 18. Kumbha paṭi, 19. Rāhu paṭi, 20. Āṭha nahakā, 21. Bāṅki, 22. Piḍhā, 23. Ṛṣi paṭā, 24. Daṇḍa, 25. Pārābhādi, 26. Khapuri, 27. Pāda, 28. Olaṭa suā, 29. Dadhinauti, 30. Kaḷasa, 31. Kāṣṭhi, 32. Daṇḍa, 33. Cakra, 34. Kapi ketana* (flag).



Vertical cross-section of the Jagannātha Temple

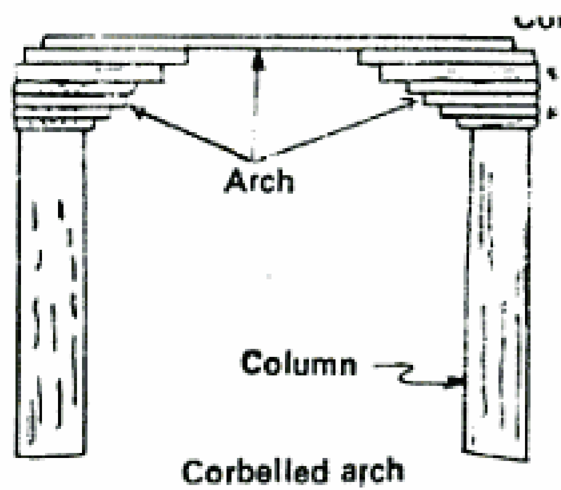


Sketch of *Rekhā deuḷa*

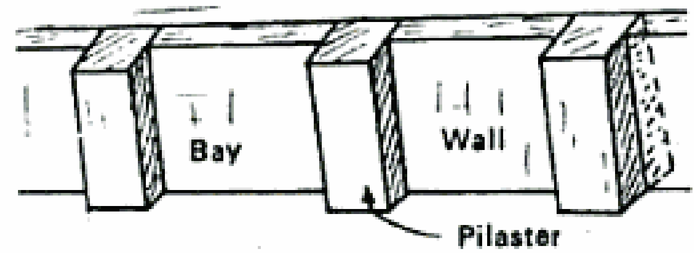


Principal parts of a Pidha Deul

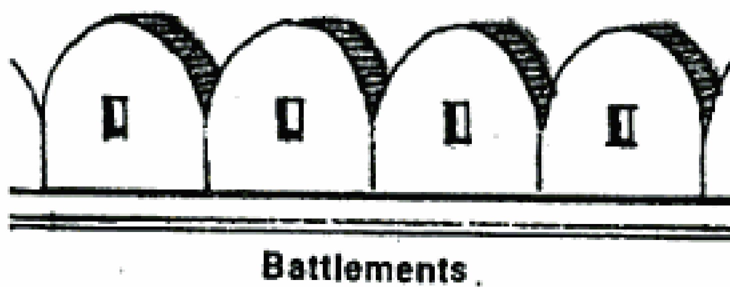
Sketches of Temple Parts



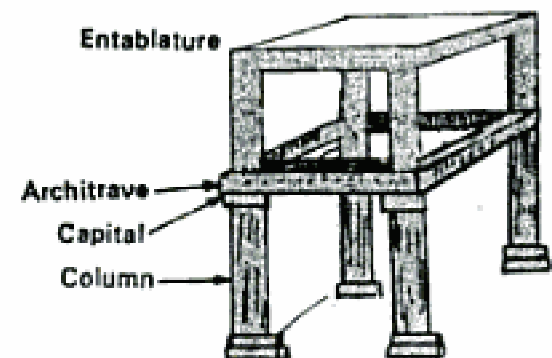
Arch formed by progressively larger corbels



Square column half - built into a wall



Parapet or wall with embrasures or serrations



Upper portion of a structure supported by a colonnade

LIST OF PLATES



(1)

(2)



(3a)



(3b)



(3c)



(4)

(5a) (5b)



(5c) (6)



(7)



(8a)



(8b)



(8c)



(8d)









(9)



(10)

(11)

(12)

(13)

(14)



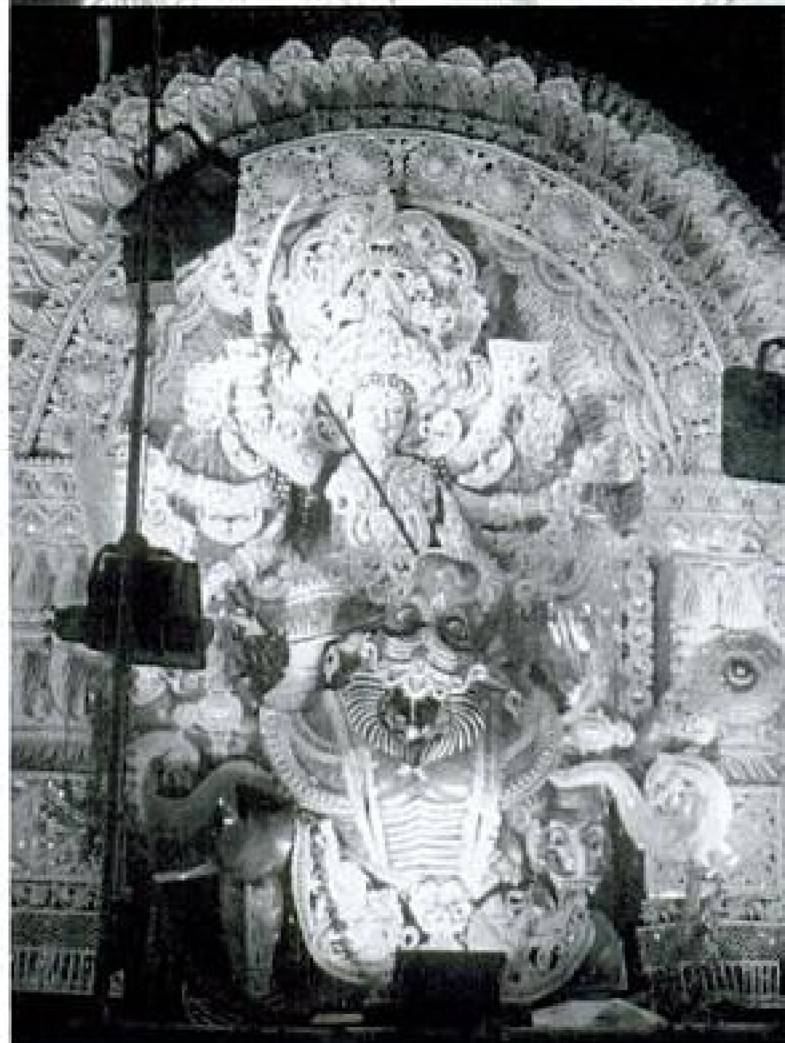
(15) (16)



(17)

(18)








(20)



(21)



(22)

MAP OF PURI

N

KILOMETRE

Narendra Tank

Tank

Jagannatha Temple Garden

Market

Palace

Jagannatha

Temple

Swargadwara

Bay of Bengal

Puri Railway Station

Gundicha

LEGEND

Municipal Boundary

Commercial Areas

Temple

Tank

deficiencies and suggest measures to improve upon the work. But he is no more and in the meantime, the profile of readers has also changed. His effort to present a comprehensive account of the origin of the Temple, its control by alien rulers, the portrayal of some interesting anecdotes, its rituals, architecture and sculpture is indeed a very laudable one.

About the Editor

Durga Nandan Mishra (b.1952) was in the Orissa state civil service before joining lectureship in 1980. He did his Ph.D. in Cognitive Psychology and has a degree in Law. He has several research articles to his credit and has avid interest in numismatics. He is currently working as a Reader in Psychology under the Orissa Government; and writing a book on late *Vaidyaratna* Māguṇi Miśra Brahmā.



Annals and Antiquities of the Temple of Jagannātha

First Edition

Nārāyaṇ Miśra

This book presents an exhaustive historical account of the Temple of Jagannātha such as its origin, construction of the shrine down the ages, its management across centuries, the viscissitudes it has witnessed, the servitors, daily rituals of the deities, its architectural and sculptural excellence, Śankarācārya's reactions to the Buddhist influence over the temple, arrival of Gourāṅga Deb at Purī, evolution of the temple police, pilgrims visiting the holy city, and some inercsting anecdotes through a saga of ten chapters. The author, who has often been indulgent in his narrations in an absorbing Victorian style, has emphasised, "the learned may accept according to their predilection but truth is truth and mystery remains a mystery all along."

For a lucid presentation, notes are incorporated on the same page in the text; and appendices (including a compendious chronologically arranged description of events having a bearing on the temple), bibliography, glossary, subject index, relevant sketches, and some fascinating photographs have been provided towards the end. With all these features, this book would be extremely useful as a comprehensive text for students pursuing history, philosophy, Indian culture, sociology, comparative religion, and allied disciplines. The general readers would also find the book written seventy-six years ago as an authoritative reference source.

Excerpts : "... the architectural designs .... are so elaborately engraved throughout with continuous exquisite carvings in the most florid style of art to its minutest details that even an ardent devotee is nonplussed to stop here, ... to feast his eyes and soul with the picturesque scenes they present to him. The entire surface thus carved and the series of low-relief, mid-relief, and high-relief figures of statues and other sculptural details noticed here, there, and everywhere throughout the walls and the plinth- all combine to produce an imposing effect on the beholder." (p. 33)

"... the womenfolk in all classes of pilgrims are ... frank and sincere about their devotion and love for Lord Jagannātha. While making *darśan* with calm gazing eyes (often filled with tears), folded palms, and audible prayers on the lips, they demonstrate their immense gratitude.... Sometimes they represent their grievances in abject submission ... like a deserted or neglected relation driven to grief and sufferings. This ... compels an observer to recall the pristine love and devotion of *naive* Rādhā and Her *sakhīs*(maidens) Who were ever imbued in platonic relationship with Their Mathurānātha Śrīkṛṣṇa in *Dwāpara*, and now manifested in *Kaḷiyuga* as *dārubrahma Śrī* Jagannātha in *Puruṣottam kṣetra* at one corner of Orissa." (p.108).

Opinion : "I have had the scholarly assistance of **Pt. Narayan Misra**... and found his Oriya and historical scholarship most exceptionally sound.... the manuscript of his book on the antiquities and history of the Temple of Jagannath and most heartily recommend it, and trust that some friend of Indian learning will have it published. **W.Y.Evans-Wentz, Member of Jesus College, Oxford.** An eminent Indologist on research tour in India, Almora, U.P., March 24, 1936.

Paṇḍit **Nārāyaṇ Miśra** (1870-1945) joined the Police Department in 1894 as an officer after passing the Entrance Examination of the Calcutta University. He served at different places including the Police Training School, Bhāgalpur (1904, Bihar). He was a *Kāvyatīrtha*(*Veda*) and authored several scholarly works including *Jagannātha Tatwa Prakāśa* (an anthology of poems eulogising the greatness of Jagannātha), *Gītā Bhāṣāmṛta, Bodhendu Ratnākara*, and *Bīra Mitrodaya Campū* which are yet to be published.

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